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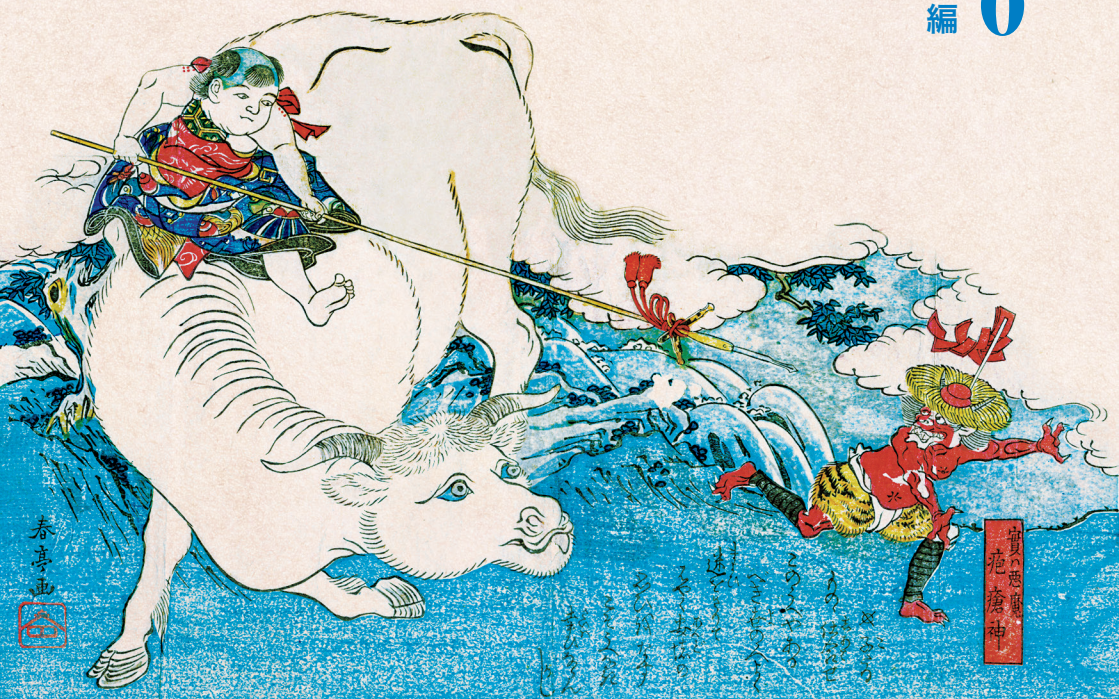
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# JAPANESE STUDIES AROUND THE WORLD

Edited by MATSUGI Hiromi

# 世界の日本研究 2020

松木 裕美 編



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# 序

松木裕美

『世界の日本研究』2020 年号は、8 本の論文を取める。まず、スペインとアルメニアという本誌で取り上げられたことのない二国の日本研究についての報告がある。ブライ・グアルネー氏 (Blai Guarné) と岩佐托朗氏 (Iwasa Takuro) の “Japanese Studies in Spain: A Growing Academic Field” は、1990 年代からのスペインにおける日本研究の発展を、関係者への調査に基づいて八つの大学を中心に詳しく描く。アストギク・ホワニシャン氏の「アルメニアにおける日本研究」は、アルメニア語で書かれた日本関連書籍と翻訳書を通して、20 世紀初頭からソビエト連邦時代、そして独立後の現在に至るまでの継続的な日本への関心を追う。

次に、中国、ベトナム、アメリカの研究者の論考は、それぞれの研究分野に特化し、所属研究機関の紹介や研究動向の分析を内容とする。中国からは、李杰玲氏の「中国における江戸時代怪異小説についての研究」が、学位論文などに見られる若手研究者を中心とした怪奇小説・妖怪研究の萌芽を紹介し、その発展のための課題を提示する。潘世聖氏の「近年の中国における日本書の翻訳出版および読書傾向について」は、この二十年の日本語書籍の中国語翻訳の推移と国内の反応を通して、中国の読者が自国の歴史観や価値観を相対化していく過程を描く。孫衛国氏 (Sun Weiguo) の “A Review of China’s Research on the Wanli Korean War in the Past Hundred Years” は、万暦朝鮮の役 (文禄・慶長の役) をめぐる研究関心の変化を、一世紀に渡り詳しくたどる。こちらも、近年の国際的な研究の動きの中で、中国の歴史観の相対化が論点の一つになっている。

ベトナムからは、ゴ・フォン・ラン氏の「ベトナムにおける日本研究——東北アジア研究所の事例」が、研究所の沿革と社会科学分野での日本研究の傾向を紹介し、直面するいくつかの課題を提示する。

そして、アメリカからは、サイモン・パートナー氏 (Simon Partner) が “Edo-Era Women’s History: A Review of Recent Work in English” で、江戸時代の女性史研究における英語圏著者の特徴を分析し、新しいジェンダー観に基づい



たアプローチが歴史学の方法論そのものに変化をもたらしていることを示す。ピーター・ザロー氏 (Peter Zarrow) の “Western-Language Studies of Japanese Heritage” は、英語やフランス語で発表された遺産研究を通して、遺産という概念そのものの曖昧さと、遺産化行為にかかわる権力やアイデンティティの問題を指摘する。

本号では雑誌として新しい取り組みを二つ始めたことにも言及しておきたい。前号から冊子体が廃され、完全にデジタル化・オープンアクセス化されたが、さらに多くの読者に届けることができると願い、本号より日本語と英語の要旨とキーワードを加えた。また、それぞれの論文で紹介されている文献はほとんどが日本語以外で書かれたものであるが、テーマに興味を持った読者がこれらの文献にアクセスしやすいように、本文（日本語か英語）に加えて、原典の言語による表記も記載した。すなわち、入り口を広くしつつ、奥行きも深くすることで、この雑誌が、地域、言語、研究分野を超えた知的交流の一助となることを目指している。

最後に、本号は新型コロナウイルスの感染が広まる中で執筆および編集が行われた。いろいろな制約と仕事が増える中、難しい状況下で原稿を執筆して下さった著者の方々に心からお礼を申し上げる。同じく、遠隔でコミュニケーションの難しい中、校正・校閲作業にご尽力いただいた関係者の方々にも感謝の意を表したい。

## Japanese Studies in Spain: A Growing Academic Field

Blai GUARNÉ\* and IWASA Takuro\*\*

Although Japanese studies in Spain started somewhat late, its development over the last thirty years within Spanish universities has been remarkable. Eight universities currently offer study programs in East Asian studies, including Japanese studies, and a similar number are carrying out research projects. Japanese studies has expanded from the humanities to the social sciences, and also within research groups, centers, and universities. However, the issue of institutional support and funding poses challenges in the long term. This article addresses the research and teaching of Japanese studies in Spain and provides an overview of a growing academic field.

**Keywords:** Japanese studies, Spain, East Asian studies, Japanese language, Japanese culture

### Introduction

Ten years have passed since a full bachelor's degree in East Asian studies was first offered in Spain. This was the first time a major in Japanese studies was offered in a Spanish university, on the same level as other European universities. Such a ten-year anniversary constitutes the perfect occasion to review the situation of Japanese studies in Spain.

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\*\* Iwasa Takuro is Associate Professor at Osaka University of Economics and has been Visiting Researcher at Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona for the 2019–2020 academic year.

An issue that needs to be pointed out before we enter into a detailed consideration of this topic is the scope of Japanese studies in Spanish universities. These studies have traditionally been addressed through the disciplines of humanities such as history, art history, language, literature, philosophy, and thought. More recently, the range has expanded to include disciplines from the social sciences, such as politics, international relations and law, international trade, economics, and business. The Japanese language and linguistics, along with Japanese-to-Spanish literary translation, also occupy an important place, although their specific consideration is beyond the scope of this article.<sup>1</sup>

In order to offer the most complete overview possible of Japanese studies in Spain, we will focus on the activities carried out by public universities—the country’s leading academic institutions—within the broad research and teaching field of East Asian studies. In the first section we present the academic activity of eight universities in which Japanese studies covers a wide range of scholarly interests, following the chronological order of the foundation of their scientific centers, research groups, and study programs on Japanese and East Asian studies. In the second section we consider the dissemination of Japanese studies in what constitutes a dynamic academic environment in which several universities and institutions are involved across the country. Finally, in the third section we look at the challenges and opportunities that Japanese studies face in the Spanish academic system, an issue that leads us to the article’s conclusion.

Ultimately, our goal is to provide an initial systematic overview of Japanese studies in Spain, both in education and in research, through the consideration of a knowledge field which, while still young in its implementation and development, must be contemplated in a global academic context.

## 1. Academic Institutionalization: From Japanology to Japanese Studies

Despite the fact that the West’s earliest knowledge on Japan was written in Spanish by Christian missionaries in the sixteenth century, the study of Japan in Spain remained

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1 In this regard, we only consider the teaching of Japanese on study programs from university degrees in philology, modern languages, and translation and interpreting as a secondary topic. In the last section of the article, we address the teaching of Japanese in university language centers and official language schools. Although we cannot enter into an exhaustive consideration of this topic, we believe this section offers a suitably complete overview.



undeveloped at the academic level for a long time. The expansion of the Spanish empire in the Americas and the dependence of the South Pacific colonies on the American continent contributed to Spain historically focusing its intellectual endeavors on regions other than East Asia.

The commercial and military interests of modern Western powers led to the progressive development of oriental studies in the main European universities, while East Asia was fated to occupy a marginalized academic position in Spain. The initial curiosity of the European enlightenment for Chinese philosophy, aesthetics, and law laid the foundations of Sinology, gradually becoming associated with language and linguistic studies. This interest later gave rise to the development of Japanese studies, which were closely tied with the Western imperialist project in the nineteenth century. In the second half of the twentieth century, the emergence of area studies on the campuses of the main universities in the United States brought a new kind of specialized knowledge of Japan which, with the end of the Cold War geopolitical order and the emergence of the phenomenon of cultural and economic globalization, has been the subject of a thorough epistemological critique.

Until relatively recently, Spain was not involved in these academic developments because of the late arrival of intellectual modernity, and also because of the country's scholarly isolation, enforced by the dictatorship that ruled for a large part of the last century. Japanese studies was therefore overlooked in Spanish universities, overshadowed by a long tradition of Western scholarship, and, as a result of this, Spain lagged far behind other countries in the academic study of Japan.

However, in the last decades of the twentieth century, a generation of scholars emerged whose works transitioned from the field of Japanology to that of Japanese studies. For the most part, they were missionaries from different Catholic orders who travelled to Japan in the 1950s and 1960s and found that the process of secularization led them to teach Spanish language and culture in leading Japanese universities. Among them, there were notable precursors, like José Luis Álvarez Taladriz (a specialist in the missionary history of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Japan), and a prominent group of scholars comprising Antonio Cabezas (Christian missionary history in Japan, Japanese literature and translation), Federico Lanzaco Salafranca (Japanese language, thought, and aesthetics), Fernando Rodríguez-Izquierdo (classical Japanese literature, haiku poetry, and translation), José María Ruiz (comparative Japanese and Western literatures), Ángel Ferrer Casals (Japanese philosophy and classical translation), Jesús González Vallés (Japanese philosophy, religion, and

classical translation), and Fernando García Gutiérrez (Japanese art, history, and philosophy).<sup>2</sup> On returning to Spain they faced a lack of institutional support and had to take up secondary university positions or continue their work outside of the academic world. Their pioneering work was way ahead of Spanish academia at the time, and the universities failed to recognize the value of the knowledge they were able to contribute. As a result, their generation was unable to use its skills and expertise to develop study programs for Japanese language and culture, further delaying the academic institutionalization of Japanese studies in Spain.

The institutionalization would be driven by a younger generation of scholars whose careers began to take shape in the 1980s thanks to the scholarship programs offered by the Japanese Ministry of Education and the Japan Foundation, without whose support Japanese studies in Spain would be far less developed.<sup>3</sup> The introduction of the Japanese language as an operative subject in philology, modern languages, and translation studies at the end of the 1980s and throughout the 1990s, and the efforts of this new generation of researchers trained in Japanese studies abroad, meant a fundamental step towards institutionalizing Japanese studies in Spanish universities.

These efforts came to fruition when, in 2003, the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science agreed to change the official name of the field relating to research and teaching on Japan from “Language and Culture of the Far East”—with its strong orientalist tone—to “East Asian Studies.” This change enabled universities in the 2003–2004 academic year to offer the first programs in East Asian studies as two-year, second-cycle degrees, undertaken face-to-face in the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB) and the Autonomous University of Madrid (UAM), which included a specialization in Japanese studies. So, for the first time, Japanese studies became institutionalized in Spanish universities, although still only within two-year programs. These initial academic degrees were brought into line with those of other

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2 For more on these authors, see Elena Barlés Báguena, “Luces y sombras en la historiografía del arte japonés en España” [Light and Shadow in the Historiography of Japanese Art in Spain], in Elena Barlés Báguena, ed., *Monográfico “Las colecciones de arte extremo oriental en España,” Artígrama. Revista del Departamento de Historia del Arte de la Universidad de Zaragoza* no. 18, 2003, pp. 23–82.

3 For more on this subject, see Alfonso Falero, “A History of Japanese Studies in Spain: An Introduction.” Paper presented at the European Association of Japanese Resource Specialists Annual Conference, Universidad de Salamanca, September 2004, <https://gredos.usal.es/handle/10366/122014> (accessed April 3, 2020).

European universities in the 2009–2010 academic year, with the so-called “Bologna Process”—i.e., the process of adapting university degrees to the European Higher Education Area (EHEA)—which presented an opportunity to transform these two-year programs into full four-year university degrees in East Asian studies. This change significantly increased the content related to Japan, with a wide range of compulsory and optional subjects from the humanities (anthropology, literature, thought, philosophy, art, history, cultural studies) and the social sciences (sociology, politics, international relations, geography, economics, international trade, business). But, above all, it increased the teaching of the Japanese language with a well-defined syllabus that would enable students to learn Japanese to at least level B1 of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) and even level B2, if students undertook a study placement in a Japanese university.

In parallel to this, an interest in Japan had begun to develop in postgraduate and doctoral programs, mainly in modern languages and literature, translation and interpreting, and art history and philosophy. New master’s programs emerged that focused specifically on East Asian studies with a major in Japanese studies, thereby definitively placing Spanish universities on the same level as their European counterparts in this field of knowledge.

The adaptation of university degrees to the EHEA served as a catalyst for the preconditions needed (critical mass, teaching excellence, social interest) to respond to the growing demands of students, official institutions, and the professional world for more advanced training in East Asian studies at Spanish universities. And this needed to include a substantial offering of Japanese studies in line with international education standards. But these study programs would not have been possible without the activities undertaken over many years by several research groups and centers, which would become the backbone of Japanese studies in Spanish universities, as we outline below.

### **Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona (UAB) / Autonomous University of Barcelona**

Japanese studies at UAB encompasses language and linguistics, literature and translation, society and culture, and popular culture and media studies. Created in 1988, the Centre of Japanese Studies was Spain’s first university center dedicated to Japanese studies. It set a course for the academic recognition of this field of study, which was consolidated the following decade when it was integrated into the Centre of International and Intercultural Studies (CEII). The mounting relevance of East Asia

in the global context led researchers at CEII to increasingly focus their attention on this region. In 2013, in recognition of their work, the CEII changed its name to the East Asian Studies & Research Centre (CERAO), as it is known today, and East Asian area studies was included in the name of the Department of Translation and Interpreting & East Asian Studies (DTIEAO), making UAB the first Spanish university to have a department in this field.

The teaching of Japanese at UAB had also begun at the end of the 1980s, at the Faculty of Translation and Interpreting (FTI), and this has continued uninterrupted ever since: first, in the second-cycle degree in East Asian studies since 2003, and now, as a Bachelor's Degree in East Asian Studies (four years) since 2009. UAB thereby became the first Spanish university to offer a bachelor's degree focused exclusively on East Asia, with a full major in Japanese studies in which the Japanese language is taught from beginner level as a compulsory subject for the forty students taking the Japanese track. Key to its development has been the contribution of Japanese teachers like Shiraishi Minoru 白石実 and Suzuki Shigeko 鈴木重子, who were later joined by Mercè Altimir Losada (literary translation and gender studies), Fukuda Makiko 福田牧子 (sociolinguistics and family language policy), Hanawa Takatoshi 塙隆敏 (language), Carme Mangirón Hevia (translation and popular culture), Jordi Mas López (literary translation and haiku poetry in Catalan), Albert Nolla Cabellos (literary translation), Alba Serra Vilella (literary translation and interculturality), and Umemoto Tomoko 梅本明子 (language). In addition, the FTI offers a Bachelor's Degree in Translation and Interpreting that teaches Japanese to intermediate level. As a result of these developments there are now more than two hundred students studying Japanese at the FTI every year, making UAB the top university for Japanese in terms of student numbers in the Spanish university system.

At postgraduate level, Japanese studies at UAB began in 2007 with a master's program on contemporary East Asia, which has given rise to the Official Master's Degree in Global East Asian Studies (one year) in 2020. This is an innovative master's program developed by the research group GREGAL: Japan-Korea-Catalonia/Spain Cultural Circulation, whose epistemological framework combines the approaches of area studies and global studies. Furthermore, since the mid-1990s it has been possible to undertake a PhD in Japanese studies in the PhD Program in Translation and Intercultural Studies. Related to these study programs, UAB has an international exchange program that includes more than twenty-five Japanese universities, to which it regularly sends students for six month or one-year placements. In this way, UAB

became the first university in Spain to offer a bachelor's, master's, and PhD in Japanese studies, a model later adopted by other prominent Spanish universities. This academic activity has been made possible thanks to the research undertaken in the CERAO and the DTIEAO through eight competitive R&D projects from the Spanish Ministry of Innovation and Science, five regional research projects, various projects awarded by the Japan Foundation, and one competitive research project from the European Research Council (ERC).

Research in Japanese studies is undertaken by the research group GREGAL, which has made UAB a leader in the field of Japanese popular culture and media studies. Led by Blai Guarné, GREGAL looks at the circulation, reception, and reconfiguration of the cultural, linguistic, and representational flows which, with Japan and South Korea as the main players, affect and transform Spain's social reality through globalizing processes on a worldwide scale. Its scientific activity is focused on three main lines of investigation: (1) (re)production, reception, and consumption of the Japanese and South Korean cultural and creative industries in Spain; (2) the uses of popular culture for strategic purposes in Japanese and South Korean cultural diplomacy programs, soft-power strategies, and nation-branding actions in Spain; and (3) language and mobility in relation to human flows and the dissemination of the Japanese and Korean languages in Spain.<sup>4</sup> The group has a strong interuniversity focus, with the participation of researchers from UAB like Fukuda Makiko, Eduardo González de la Fuente, Tomás Grau, Alba Serra Vilella, Umemoto Tomoko, and from other universities such as Angélica Cabrera Torrecilla (National Autonomous University of Mexico), Antonio Loriguillo-López (Jaume I University in Castellón),

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4 Among the members' publications: Fukuda Makiko "Language Use in the Context of Double Minority: The Case of Japanese-Catalan/Spanish Families in Catalonia," *International Journal of Multilingualism* vol. 14, no. 4, 2017, pp. 401–418; Blai Guarné, ed., *Antropología de Japón: identidad, discurso y representación* [Anthropology of Japan: Identity, Discourse, and Representation], Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2017; Blai Guarné, Paul Hansen, *Escaping Japan: Reflections on Estrangement and Exile in the Twenty-First Century*, Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2018; Blai Guarné, Antonio Loriguillo-López, eds., Special Issue "The Impact of Japanese and South Korean Audiovisual Production in Spain," *L'Atalante* no. 29, 2020; Marcos P. Centeno Martín, Norimasa Morita, eds., *Japan Beyond Its Borders: Transnational Approaches to Film and Media*, Tokyo: Seibunsha, 2020; Marcos P. Centeno Martín, Michael Raine, eds., Special Issue "Developments in Japanese Documentary Film," *Arts* 8 (3), 2019; Guillermo Martínez-Taberner, *El Japón Meiji y las colonias asiáticas del imperio español* [Meiji Japan and the Asian Colonies of the Spanish Empire], Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2017.

Guillermo Martínez-Taberner (Pompeu Fabra University, UPF), Mario Malo Sanz (University of Zaragoza, UNIZAR), and Marcos P. Centeno Martín (Birkbeck, University of London), who is specialist in Japanese cinema and the documentary works by Hani Susumu.

Related to GREGAL, and also in the DTIEAO, the InterAsia research group focuses on analyzing intercultural processes developed in relation to East Asia, with China as the central foci, and in particular investigates the consequences of the meetings and exchanges both within the region and between East Asia and the rest of the world.

Finally, of particular importance is the research project led by the ICREA<sup>5</sup> research professor Rebekah Clements, under the title “Aftermath of the East Asian War of 1592–1598.” This is a five-and-a-half-year research project funded by a European Research Council Starting Grant (Horizon2020), which seeks to understand the legacy of Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s invasion of Korea. As a cultural historian specializing in the Tokugawa period, Clements is the principal investigator of a research team of PhD students and postdoctoral researchers who analyze the environmental, technological, and social impact of Hideyoshi’s invasions of Korea in sixteenth-century East Asia. Deserving of special mention in this ongoing research project is the development of an open-access resource in the form of a multilingual research tool for scholars of sixteenth- to seventeenth-century East Asian history: “The Database of Research on the Imjin War.”<sup>6</sup> It brings together bibliographic information on modern books, articles, and dissertations relating to Hideyoshi’s invasions. As of May 2020, the database contains over four hundred entries in nine languages, primarily English, Korean, Japanese, and Chinese (romanization is provided for Asian titles and author names).

On an editorial level, since 2013 UAB has published in Spanish the book series “Japanese Studies Library” through the CERAO at the Edicions Bellaterra. Under the direction of Blai Guarné, eleven volumes have been published that cover different areas of Japanese studies, such as premodern and modern history (Gustavo Pita Céspedes, Guillermo Martínez-Taberner), popular culture (Artur Lozano-Méndez), feminism and gender studies (Montserrat Crespín Perales), political movements

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5 ICREA (Catalan Institution for Research and Advanced Studies), is a scientific foundation supported by the regional government of Catalonia.

6 <https://aftermath.uab.cat/database-search/>



(Ferran de Vargas), and literature (Pau Pitarch Fernández).<sup>7</sup> Along with these original works by Spanish and Latin American scholars, also published in the series are Spanish translations of internationally renowned works (e.g., works by Sugimoto Yoshio and Joy Hendry), and it has received the support of the Japan Foundation grant programs for its contribution to the development and consolidation of Japanese studies in the Spanish-speaking academic community.

Over the years, UAB has also organized several conferences, like the 5th National Conference of the Association for Japanese Studies in Spain (AEJE), titled “Towards the 21st Century: A Multidisciplinary and Multicultural Focus on the Progress of Knowledge” in 1998; the 6th and 7th National Conferences of the AEJE, “Japan: Art, Culture, and Water” in 2000 and 2002; and the 5th FEIAP Conference (Spanish Asia-Pacific Research Forum) in 2016. In 2022 it will organize the JAWS Conference (Japan Anthropology Workshop), which has not been held in Spain since the mid-1990s. Finally, it is worth noting that UAB is part of the Sakura Network (Japan Foundation Nihongo Network), that its Library of Humanities houses the personal library of Harumi Befu, and that, since 1994, UAB has served as an exam center for the Japanese-Language Proficiency Test (JLPT).

### **Universidad Autónoma de Madrid (UAM) / Autonomous University of Madrid**

Japanese studies at UAM cover language and linguistics, literature and translation, economics and society, thought and history, and art history. Japanese studies began in the 1980s when the language was first taught at faculty level. During the 1990s, Japanese language and literature were taught on different degree programs as optional subjects at the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts, especially within the course “Second Language and Its Literature.” The systematic teaching of Japanese began in 2003, on the two-year, second-cycle degree in East Asian studies.

Since 2009, UAM has offered a full major in Japanese studies within its Bachelor’s Degree in African and Asian Studies (four years). Japanese is offered from beginner level as a compulsory subject for the thirty-five students that choose the Japanese track. In relation to this bachelor’s degree, UAM has an international exchange program that includes ten Japanese universities. At postgraduate level the Official Master’s Degree in East Asian Studies (one year) started in 2020, and, since 2014, a PhD Program in Human Sciences offers a research line in Asian studies, with

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7 <https://cerao.uab.cat/publicaciones/biblioteca-de-estudios-japoneses/?lang=es>

the possibility to write a dissertation on Japanese studies.

Research in Japanese studies is conducted at the Centre for East Asian Studies (CEAO, established 1992), which has made UAM a leading institution in the research and teaching of East Asian studies in Spain. The CEOA's main goal is to promote research on the East Asian region in fields such as sociology, culture, art, history, economics, and politics, and for this a sound command of East Asian languages is necessary. Since its creation, the Japanese studies section has been organized by the language and literature specialist Takagi Kayoko 高木香世子. In its early years of operation, it benefited from the teaching of the aforementioned Japanologist Federico Lanzaco Salafranca, along with visiting lecturers and scholars like Ana María Goy-Yamamoto, a specialist in contemporary Japanese economics and society, who joined the CEOA with a Japan Foundation grant and today is in charge of the Japanese studies section.<sup>8</sup> Equally fundamental in its first years was the teaching of Japanese history given by Kondo Yoshiyuki 近藤仁之 from UAM's Faculty of Economics, as well as the teaching of language by Kimura Chieko 木村千枝子, art by Amaury A. García Rodríguez—the current director of the Centre for Asian and African Studies of the College of Mexico—and culture by Tanaka Michiko 田中道子, from the same institution.<sup>9</sup>

Since 2000, the CEOA has incorporated new generations of scholars with strong research backgrounds in different academic areas of Japanese studies from Europe, the United States, and Japan, such as language expert Suzuki Yuko 鈴木裕子, linguistics

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8 Among their publications: Takagi Kayoko, Takamori Emi, *Manual de lengua japonesa*, Madrid: UAM Ediciones, 3rd Edition, 2019; Ana María Goy-Yamamoto, Susa Mari, "Legislación Antimonopolio" [Antitrust Legislation], in Francisco Barberán, et al., eds., *Introducción al derecho japonés actual* [Introduction to Current Japanese Law], Cizur Menor: Aranzadi, 2013, pp. 675–693.

9 Among their publications: Amaury A. García Rodríguez, *El control de la estampa erótica japonesa shunga* [The Control of the Japanese Erotic Shunga Print], Mexico D.F.: COLMEX, CEAA, 2011; Amaury A. García Rodríguez, ed., *Cultura popular y grabado en Japón: siglos XVII a XIX* [Popular Culture and Printmaking in Japan: 17th to 19th Centuries], Mexico D.F.: COLMEX, CEAA, 2005; Michiko Tanaka, *Cultura popular y estado en Japón 1600–1868. Organizaciones de jóvenes en el autogobierno aldeano* [Popular Culture and State in Japan 1600–1868: Youth Organizations in Village Self-government], Mexico D.F.: COLMEX, CEAA, 1987; and Michiko Tanaka et al., *Historia mínima de Japón* [Minimal History of Japan], Mexico D.F.: COLMEX, CEAA, 2011.

expert Takamori Emi 高森絵美, intellectual history specialist David Mervart,<sup>10</sup> art history specialist Daniel Sastre de la Vega,<sup>11</sup> literature and translation expert Tani Rumi 谷ルミ,<sup>12</sup> and language lecturer Eddy Y. L. Chang. The CEO has also led six competitive R&D projects from the Spanish Ministry of Innovation and Science, has obtained different projects from the Japan Foundation, and its researchers participate in projects with other universities like the EU-funded research program “East Asian Uses of the Past: Tracing Braided Chronotypes” (2016–2019) in collaboration with Heidelberg University, the University of Zurich, and the London School of Economics.

Also noteworthy is the CEO’s work organizing exhibitions of Japanese art, such as the *ukiyo-e* exhibition of a previously unknown Madrilénian collection titled *Fantasy on Stage: Kunisada and the Utagawa School*, curated by Daniel Sastre de la Vega with Olga García (Royal Fine Arts Academy of San Fernando, Madrid, 2014), and *Yōkai, Iconography of the Fantastical: The Night Parade of One Hundred Demons as the Source of Supernatural Imagery in Japan*, also curated by Sastre de la Vega with Yumoto Kōichi 湯本豪一 in the same venue in 2018.

At the editorial level, since 2017 the CEO has published in Spanish the book series “Japan Collection” through UAM’s university press, led by Takagi Kayoko. There are already four published titles within the collection encompassing linguistics (Takagaki Toshihiro 高垣敏博, Takamori Emi), thought (Kiyozawa Manshi 清沢満之, Bernat Martí Oroval), and history (Gonzalo San Emeterio Cabañes).<sup>13</sup> Likewise, the CEO has organized several conferences, like the 13th National and 4th International Conference of the AEJE under the title “Perspectives of the Bilateral Relations between Spain and Japan,” in 2018; and the forthcoming 2nd International Conference of the Spanish Association for East Asian Studies (AEEAO) around the

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10 Among his publications: “Meiji Japan’s China Solution to Tokugawa Japan’s China Problem,” *Japan Forum* vol. 27, no. 4, 2015, pp. 544–558; and “*Analects* for Schoolgirls and Underemployed Warriors: Testing a Cultural History of Confucianism in Japan,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* vol. 78, no. 1, 2018, pp. 181–199.

11 Daniel Sastre de la Vega is the author of *Arte y nación. El discurso de la Historia del Arte en el Japón Meiji* [Art and Nation: The Discourse of Art History in Meiji Japan], Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2019.

12 Tani Rumi and Carlos Rubio have translated *Historia de los hermanos Soga* [The Tale of the Soga Brothers], Madrid: Trotta, 2012; and *Heike monogatari* [The Tale of the Heike], Gijón: Satori, 2019.

13 <https://libros.uam.es/?press=uam&page=catalog&op=series&path%5B%5D=japon>

theme “East Asian Studies in the Age of Connectivity,” in 2021. Finally, it should be mentioned that since 2006, the CEAO has also organized the JLPT and, in view of this exam, organizes day conferences on Japanese language and culture with talks and other artistic activities open to the general public.

### Universidad de Valladolid (UVa) / University of Valladolid

Japanese studies at UVa are focused on literature and translation, international relations, and international trade and business. In line with this, the interest in Japan is present in the business-focused Official Master in International Relations and Asian Studies (two years) in the Faculty of Commerce and includes beginner-level Japanese-language teaching. Likewise, Japanese is also taught at beginner level in the Language Center on the Valladolid and Soria campuses.

We should also mention East Asian art, taught in the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts by Blanca García Vega in the 1970s, which addressed issues relating to India, China, and Japan. In fact, the City of Valladolid houses the biggest oriental art collection in Spain, in the Oriental Museum housed within the Real Colegio Seminario de los Padres Agustinos. Founded in 1874, the museum has eighteen rooms of Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese art from Augustine missions in East Asia, which notably include Japanese sculptures, lacquerware, *ukiyo-e* engravings, ceramics, chinaware, armor, and clothing.<sup>14</sup> In 1993, the aforementioned José María Ruiz founded the Institute of Japanese Studies which, in 2000, came to form part of the Centre for Asian Studies (CEA), headed by Luis Óscar Ramos Alonso.<sup>15</sup> Although the CEA focuses on the South Asian region, mainly India, it also addresses East Asia and Japan through courses, lectures, and cultural exhibitions, with a strong informative focus.

Significantly, since 2006, the research group called The Reception of Japanese Imaginary in English and French Travel Literature in the Nineteenth to the Twenty-First Century focuses on mythical-symbolic studies of the Japanese imaginary and its reception in modern European travel literature. Led by Pilar Garcés García and Lourdes Terrón Barbosa, its main aim is to analyze Japan's influence on nineteenth to

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14 Similarly, the nearby city of Ávila has an Oriental Museum established in 1964 that brings together pieces from Japan, Vietnam, the Philippines, and China, in this case from the Dominican missions in East Asia.

15 Luis Óscar Ramos Alonso is the author, with José María Ruiz Ruiz, of *Economía y empresa japonesa: su presencia en España* [Japanese Economy and Business: Its Presence in Spain], Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 1996.

twenty-first-century English and French travel writers.<sup>16</sup> The group has conducted three competitive R&D projects from the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation, which notably include the development of the international database hosted by the group's website under the title "Social and Institutional Relations: The Image of Japan in the Accounts of Travellers and the Work of Well-Known Authors of English, French, and Hispanic Literature from the End of the Nineteenth Century to the First Decades of the Twentieth Century."<sup>17</sup>

Over the years, the involvement of UVa in the development of Japanese studies in Spain has led it to organize several AEJE conferences, specifically its 3rd and 4th National Conferences, "Japan: A Comparative Focus" in 1996 and 1997, and its 10th National and 1st International Conference titled "Japan-Europe, Itineraries, Travel and Contacts" in 2011.

**Universidad Complutense de Madrid (UCM) / Complutense University of Madrid**  
Japanese studies at the Complutense University of Madrid (UCM) are focused on modern history, politics, and international relations, and art history and collecting. In terms of teaching, in the 1970s, the UCM was a pioneer institution in art history studies in East Asia, a practice initiated by Jean Roger Rivi re, with his interest in the aesthetics and philosophy of India and East Asia. Carmen Garc a-Ormaechea Quero was also a major influence in the 1980s, and her work was continued by Pilar Caba as and Eva Fern ndez del Campo with the foundation of the Asia Research Group (GIA) in 1994. The GIA aims to develop knowledge of Asian art in Spain, promote the study of Asia in Spanish universities, and support the work of Spanish researchers in this field.

Led by Pilar Caba as, the GIA is involved in research, teaching, organizing workshops and lectures, and curating art exhibitions. Among its researchers focused on Japanese art are Matilde Arias, Aitana Merino, Nieves Moreno, Irene M. Mu oz, Ana Trujillo, Marcos A. Sala Ivars, an expert in traditional Japanese arms, and

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16 Pilar Garc s Garc a, Lourdes Terr n Barbosa, eds., *Itinerarios, Viajes y Contactos Jap n-Europa* [Itineraries, Travel, and Contacts: Japan-Europe], Bern: Peter Lang, 2013; and *Cat logo literario y bio-bibliogr fico de escritores viajeros europeos a Jap n. Siglo XIX* [Literary and Bio-bibliographic Catalogue of European Travel Writers to Japan: The Nineteenth Century], Soria: Universidad de Valladolid, 2014.

17 <https://www.watatsumi.org/catalogo.php?seccion=consultas>

Takizawa Osami 滝澤修身.<sup>18</sup> The GIA has undertaken various initiatives to bring to the public eye the collections and pieces of Asian art hidden away in Spanish museums and private collections through the curation of exhibitions like *Hanga: Images of the Floating World* (National Museum of Decorative Arts, Madrid, 1999), and *Orienting the Gaze: Asian Art in Public Madrilenian Collections* (Conde Duque Cultural Centre, Madrid, 2009), organized along with the research group Japan and Spain: Relations through Art (University of Zaragoza; UNIZAR). Likewise, the GIA has analyzed Asia's decisive influence in contemporary Spanish art in the exhibition titled *The Asia Principle: China, Japan and India & Contemporary Art in Spain (1957–2017)*, in the Fundación Juan March (Madrid, 2018), also with their colleagues at UNIZAR. Of particular interest is the virtual exhibition on the institution's website that discusses the influence of Asian art on Spanish art in the second half of the twentieth century in Spain.<sup>19</sup>

In UCM, the GIA collaborates with the Europe-Asia Interactions Study Group (GEINTEA). Created in 2015 under the direction of Florentino Rodao, GEINTEA focuses its research on contemporary history and international relations in East Asia from an essentially cross-disciplinary perspective. Its research combines a global approach with a specific focus on countries like Japan, China, Korea, and the Philippines. One of its main lines of investigation is the study of relations between Spain and Japan during World War II and the immediate postwar period.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, GEINTEA's strong support in fostering high quality research has led it to organize an annual seminar titled "PhDs on Asian Themes," for students and teachers nationwide together with guest scholars from foreign universities. GEINTEA also actively promotes networking among researchers of East Asian studies in Spain through the SPASIA (Network of Spanish Speaking Researchers Focused on the Study of the Asia-

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18 Among their publications: Pilar Cabañas, Ana Trujillo, eds., *La creación artística como puente entre Oriente y Occidente* [Artistic Creation as a Bridge between East and West], Madrid: UCM, 2012; Pilar Cabañas, Ana Trujillo, eds., Monográficos "Colecciones asiáticas en España" [Monographs: "Asian Collections in Spain"], *Revista de Museología* no. 65 & 66, 2016; Takizawa Osami, *La historia de los jesuitas en Japón* [The History of the Jesuits in Japan], Alcalá de Henares: Instituto de Estudios Latinoamericanos, 2010.

19 <https://www.march.es/arte/asia-y-el-arte-contemporaneo-en-espana/>

20 Florentino Rodao, *Franco y el imperio japonés. Imágenes y propaganda en tiempos de guerra* [Franco and the Japanese Empire: Images and Propaganda in Times of War], Madrid: Plaza & Janés, 2002; Florentino Rodao, *La soledad del país vulnerable. Japón desde 1945* [The Loneliness of a Vulnerable Country: Japan Since 1945], Barcelona: Planeta, 2019.



Pacific Region) mailing list, coordinated by Antonio Blat (University of Valencia).

On an editorial level, UCM publishes in Spanish the open access journal *Mirai. Estudios Japoneses*, which serves as the official journal of the AEJE and looks to publish for an international audience within an Ibero-American context. Its aim is to bring visibility to the foci and perspectives developed from Japanese studies in Spanish-speaking academia and to add them to the long tradition the English-speaking world has in this field. The directors of the journal are Pilar Cabañas (UCM) and Pilar Garcés García (UVa), and its secretary is Kawamura Yayoi 川村やよい (University of Oviedo). Likewise, UCM has organized two AEJE conferences, such as its 2nd National Conference (1995) and its 12th National and 3rd International Conference, under the title “Japan: Tourism as a Path to Knowledge and Development” (2016). Finally, we should mention that, although UCM does not offer degree or postgraduate study programs specifically on East Asia or Japanese studies, its university language center gives Japanese courses up to intermediate level, and, since 2016, it has served as an official examination venue for the JLPT.

### **Universidad de Salamanca (USAL) / University of Salamanca**

Japanese studies in USAL focus on Japanese philosophy, thought and intellectual history, society and culture, language and linguistics, and literature and translation. Founded in 1999 by Alfonso Falero Folgado, the Japanese studies section of USAL's Faculty of Philology has given rise to intense academic activity, which is reflected in their bachelor's degree, minor, master's, and doctoral programs.

Since 2015, USAL has offered a full curriculum in Japanese language and Japanese studies: a Bachelor's Degree in East Asian Studies (four years) in the Faculty of Philology, a minor and a major in Japanese studies, and Japanese as a second language as part of the Degree in Translation and Interpreting, in the Faculty of Translation and Documentation. Likewise, since 2009, a master's in Japanese studies has been offered separately and since 2013 as part of the Official Master's Degree in East Asian Studies in the Faculty of Social Sciences.

In relation to these undergraduate and postgraduate study programs, USAL has an international exchange program that includes twenty-five Japanese universities. Doctoral dissertations can also be undertaken in Japanese studies in the Translation and Intercultural Mediation Program at the Faculty of Social Sciences, as well as in the research line on East Asian studies at the Faculty of Philology.

Its teaching activities have made USAL a leading center in Japanese studies in

Spain. Its corresponding scientific component can be found in the activities of the Humanism Eurasia Research Group (HUME). The goal of HUME is to overcome the dichotomies inherited from twentieth-century Orientalism, developing a new global research approach focused on a Eurasian entity that transcends the differences between Eastern and European intellectual traditions. Led by Alfonso Falero Folgoso, the group has five areas of research: (1) translation of classic literature; (2) transversal sociology; (3) Eurasian history and texts; (4) arts of East Asia; and (5) contemporary literature of East Asia.<sup>21</sup> HUME is currently developing a competitive R&D project funded by the regional government of Castilla y León, under the title “Transverse Anthropology of Knowledge: Castilla-León and East Asia.” Likewise, since 2018, HUME has organized a yearly international workshop that constitutes a dynamic forum for scientific exchange between specialists in Japanese studies from different universities.

Moreover, the City of Salamanca is also home to the Japanese Hispanic Cultural Center (CCHJ). The center promotes knowledge sharing and cooperation between Japan and Spain, from academic and cultural exchanges, to economic relations. It lies at the intersection between teaching, research, and dissemination, and strongly emphasizes involving the general public and local community. Founded in 1999, the CCHJ arose as a joint project of USAL, the Japanese Embassy in Madrid, the Japan Foundation, and the Japanese business world in Spain, with the aim of promoting an interest in and the study of Japan at different levels. Its activities include the organization of lectures and cultural and artistic events like “Japan Cultural Week,” which is open to the general public, and the promotion of Japanese culture through a range of Japanese-language courses for students and professionals. Its language section is headed by Katō Sayaka 加藤さやか, former president of the Association of Japanese Language Teachers in Spain (APJE).

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21 Among the members’ publications: Alfonso Falero, 「上田賢治の神道論—その1、神話学へのアプローチ—」 [Ueda Kenji’s View on Shinto, 1: An Approach to His Theory on Myth], 『神道宗教』 no. 240, October 2015, pp. 94–98; Alfonso Falero, “The Meaning of Japanese Philosophy: A Spanish Perspective,” in Ching-yueg Cheung, et al., eds., *Globalizing Japanese Philosophy as an Academic Discipline*. Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2017, pp. 51–80; Masako Kubo 久保賢子, “Valores y creencias en el turismo japonés: *power spot* como búsqueda de experiencias espirituales” [Values and Beliefs in Japanese Tourism: Power Spot as a Search for Spiritual Experiences], *Revista Nuevas Tendencias en Antropología* no. 9, 2018, pp. 1–14.

## Universidad de Zaragoza (UNIZAR) / University of Zaragoza

Japanese studies at UNIZAR focus on art history and collecting, comparative law and socio-legal studies, politics and international relations, society and culture, and language and translation. The teaching of Japanese art at UNIZAR began in the 1970s, pioneered by Federico Torralba Soriano, who introduced oriental art into the former Bachelor's Degree in Geography and History, and in the following decade helped to create the optional subject of East Asian Art within the art history major. With the launch of a new Bachelor's Degree in History of Art this subject became compulsory, and was taught by Elena Barlés Báguena, who was able to increase its importance in the wider field of art history. Concurrently, in the early part of the first decade of the twenty-first century, the Museum of Zaragoza came to house the Federico Torralba Oriental Art Collection, with its substantial collection of Japanese lacquerware and prints, together with the document archive and scientific library of its founder.<sup>22</sup> This work constituted the seed for the growing presence of Japanese art studies at UNIZAR, developed by Barlés Báguena—who later went on to head the History of Art Department—and with the collaboration of David Almazán Tomás, making UNIZAR a leading research center for Japanese art studies.

The presence of Japan in UNIZAR's syllabuses is varied. The Modern Language University Centre teaches Japanese to intermediate level and, although UNIZAR does not have specific bachelor's degrees focusing on East Asia, it does offer different content on East Asian art in the Bachelor's Degree in History of Art, in its Official Master's Degree in Advanced Studies in History of Art (one year), and in its PhD Program in the History of Art that includes a research line in East Asian art and its presence in the West. UNIZAR also has its own university-specific master's course in Japanese studies focused on law, society, and culture. This began as a postgraduate course in 2016 and currently offers a blended learning course (one year, online and face-to-face). This is Spain's only specific master's program in Japanese studies and has been promoted by two research groups from UNIZAR: the research group Japan and Spain: Relations through Art, and the Japan Research Group.

Since 2004 the research group Japan and Spain: Relations through Art, led by Barlés Báguena, has addressed the study of the reception, influence, and

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22 For more on this, see the Torralba-Fortún Foundation, an institution sited in Zaragoza and dependent on the regional government of Aragón. <http://www.patrimonioculturaldearagon.es/fundacion-torralba-fortun>

dissemination of Japanese art in Spain.<sup>23</sup> It stands out for its marked interuniversity focus, bringing together researchers from UNIZAR (David Almazán Tomás) and other institutions such as UCM (Pilar Cabañas), UVa (Pilar Garcés García, Lourdes Terrón Barbosa), Open University of Catalonia (UOC; Muriel Gómez Pradas), University of Oviedo (Kawamura Yayoi), and Comillas Pontifical University in Madrid (Ana Trujillo). Since 2005, the group has carried out five competitive R&D projects from the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation, focused on the inventory and cataloguing of Japanese arts in Spanish museums, on the public and private collections of Japanese art in Spain, and on the Japanese influence on Spanish culture and art. It has also undertaken academic projects financed by the Japan Foundation and MEXT (Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology).

This scientific activity has positioned the research group as a leader in the field of Japanese art in Spain, with an exceptional output reflected in the organization of several international workshops, lectures, and art exhibitions, notably including: *Cherry Trees, Lilies, Chrysanthemums and Pines: The Beauty of the Seasons in Japanese Art* (Joaquín Roncal Centre of the Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada, Zaragoza, 2008); *The Fascination for the Art of the Land of the Rising Sun: The Meeting between Japan and the West in the Meiji Era (1868–1912)* (Museum of Zaragoza, 2012–2013); *Nanban Lacquer: Traces of Japan in Spain, curated by Kawamura Yayoi for the 4th centenary of the Keichō Embassy* (National Museum of Decorative Arts, Madrid, 2013); *Japanese Art and Japanism* (Museum of Fine Arts of Bilbao, 2014); *Noh Kabuki: Scenes from Japan* (Paranymph of the UNIZAR, 2014–2015); *Hiroshige (1797–1858) and His Time* (Museum of Zaragoza, 2015–2016); *Nanban Lacquer: Shine of Japan in Navarra* (Museum of Navarra, 2015–2016); and *Ex Orient: Western Books that Illuminated Knowledge about East Asia in the Modern Age* (Paranymph of the

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23 Among the members's publications: Elena Barlés Báguena, ed., "Las colecciones de arte extremo oriental en España" [Monograph: "The Collections of Far Eastern Art in Spain"], *Artígrama. Revista del Departamento de Historia del Arte de la Universidad de Zaragoza* no. 18, 2003; Elena Barlés Báguena, David Almazán, eds., *Japón y el mundo actual* [Japan and the Current World], Zaragoza: Pressas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 2011; David Almazán, ed., *Japón y el agua: estudios de patrimonio y humanidades* [Japan and Water: Heritage and Humanities Studies], Zaragoza: Pressas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 2019; David Almazán, Elena Barlés Báguena, *Estampas Japonesas. Historia del grabado japonés y de su presencia en España* [Japanese Prints: History of Japanese Engraving and Its Presence in Spain], Zaragoza: Caja de Ahorros de la Inmaculada, Fundación Torralba, 2007.

UNIZAR, 2018).

The fundamental importance of this research group to Japanese studies in Spain has been made clear in its organization of several AEJE conferences, such as the 8th National Conference, “The Japanese Woman: Reality and Myth” in 2005; the 9th National Conference, “Japan and the Current World” in 2008; the 3rd FEIAP (Spanish Asia-Pacific Research Forum) Conference in 2010; and, together with the Japan Research Group, the organization of the 14th National and 5th International AEJE Conference, “Japan’s Protagonism and Impact in the International Sphere (1964–2020)” in 2020.

Also in UNIZAR, since 2012, the Japan Research Group has analyzed Japanese contemporary reality and, especially Japan’s links with Europe and Spain. With a comparative approach, the group focuses on the analysis of historical-political and socio-legal relations, as well as on the international relations between Japan and Spain. Led by Carmen Tirado Robles, the Japan Research Group has undertaken six competitive R&D projects awarded by the regional government of Aragón and the Spanish Ministry of Innovation and Science.<sup>24</sup> The group also has a remarkable interuniversity focus, with the presence of specialists from different institutions, such as Fernando Delage Carretero (Loyola University Andalusia), Juan Luis López-Aranguren (UNIZAR & International University of Japan), Luis M<sup>a</sup> Pedriza Bermejillo (Dokkyo University), Jesús Pérez García (UVa), Ramón Vilarroig Moya (Jaume I University in Castellón), and Salvador Rodríguez Artacho (UNED).

Of particular interest is its project on Japanese-Spanish comparative legal studies, coordinated by Francisco Barberán and developed with Kuroda Kiyohiko 黒田清彦 and Okabe Fuminobu 岡部史信, in collaboration with the Association of Hispanic Law Studies of Japan 日本スペイン法研究会, which has led to the publication of

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24 Carmen Tirado Robles, ed., *Japón y Occidente. Estudios comparados* [Japan and the West: Comparative Studies], Zaragoza: Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 2015; Carmen Tirado Robles, Francisco Barberán, eds., *Derecho y relaciones internacionales en Japón desde el Tratado de Amistad, Comercio y Navegación de 1868* [Law and International Relations in Japan since the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce, and Navigation of 1868], Zaragoza: Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 2019.

specialized works on Spanish and Japanese laws.<sup>25</sup> Additionally, since its foundation, the research group has organized international conferences such as “Japan and the Individual: Multidisciplinary and Comparative Analysis” (2014), “Japan and Water” (2016), and the aforementioned 14th National and 5th International AEJE Conference. Finally, since 1999, the members of both the Japan Research Group and the research group Japan and Spain: Relations through Art have organized at UNIZAR several annual academic meetings featuring renowned experts in Japanese studies.

On an editorial level, UNIZAR publishes in Spanish through its university press (Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza), under the direction of Elena Barlés Báguena, the book series “The Federico Torralba Collection of East Asian Studies.” The collection already includes nine volumes on topics like cultural relations between Japan, Spain, and Ibero-America, Japan-Spain comparative studies, law and international relations, art and cultural heritage, and Japanese religion and spirituality.

### **Universidad de Granada (UGR) / University of Granada**

Japanese studies at UGR focus mainly on language and linguistics, literature and translation, and, specifically language teaching. At UGR, research is closely linked to the teaching of Japanese as a Foreign Language (JFL), which began with the Degree in Philology in 2011. Due to its success, the Japanese language and literature courses were incorporated as a minor into the former Bachelor’s Degree in Modern Languages and Their Literatures, which, in turn, gave rise to its presence in other philology degree programs, as well as in the Bachelor’s Degree in Comparative Literature.

Additionally, in 2014, UGR launched the Official Master’s in East Asian Studies, which has a major in Japanese studies and a clear interuniversity focus, notably including guest lecturers from UAB, UAM and USAL. Related to these undergraduate and postgraduate study programs, UGR also has an international exchange program that includes seven Japanese universities (with five more being added).

Scientific activities in Japanese studies are conducted through research groups

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25 Francisco Barberán, ed., *Código civil japonés* [Japanese Civil Code], Cizur Menor, Thomson Aranzadi, 2006; Francisco Barberán, *Diccionario jurídico japonés-español/español-japonés* [Japanese-Spanish/Spanish-Japanese Legal Dictionary], Cizur Menor, Thomson Aranzadi, 2008; Francisco Barberán, Kuroda Kiyohiko, Okabe Fuminobu, eds., *Introducción al derecho japonés actual* [Introduction to Current Japanese Law], Cizur Menor, Thomson Aranzadi, 2013.



focused on the foreign language learning and teaching processes by the members of the Japanese-language staff of the Department of General Linguistics and Literary Theory in the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts, especially Nobuo Ignacio López-Sako, Ito-Morales Kyoko 伊藤モラレス杏子, and María Teresa Rodríguez Navarro.<sup>26</sup> In this regard, it is worth noting their participation in different competitive R&D projects from the Spanish Ministry of Innovation and Science in the framework of the Foreign Language Teaching Research Group.

National research initiatives promoted by UGR have made a major contribution to the development of Japanese studies in Spain. The Spanish Asia-Pacific Research Forum (FEIAP), for instance, served as a space for academic exchange and discussion for researchers and scholars in East Asian and Pacific studies. Founded in 2006 at UGR, the FEIAP held five national conferences (2006, 2008, 2010, 2014, 2016), and then, after its transformation into the current AEEAO, organized one international conference on “Creating New Synergies: Beyond Our Borders” (Malaga, 2018), and it is currently preparing for its upcoming meeting in Madrid (2021).

Finally, since 2014, UGR has organized the summer edition of the JLPT at the Modern Language Centre, which offers language courses up to advanced level. Furthermore, language teachers actively organize several lectures open to the general public, such as the annual Asian Studies Seminar.

### Universidad de Sevilla (US) / University of Seville

The US currently has no research center or research group dedicated to Japanese studies or East Asian studies, but deserves inclusion here as, since 2011, it has offered a Bachelor's Degree in East Asian Studies (four years), jointly with the University of Malaga. Majors in Japanese studies and in Chinese studies are given in Seville, while

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26 Among their publications: Nobuo Ignacio López-Sako, “*Ba o yomu* 場を読む o la importancia de ‘leer la situación’ en la comunicación en lengua japonesa: un reto para el aprendiz de japonés” [*Ba o yomu* or the Importance of ‘Reading the Situation’ in Japanese Language Communication: A Challenge for the Learner of the Japanese Language], in Javier Martín Ríos, ed., *Estudios lingüísticos y culturales sobre China*, Granada: Comares, 2019, pp. 41–51; Nobuo Ignacio López-Sako, Ito-Morales Kyoko, “Propuesta de aprendizaje de los proverbios y la cultura japoneses a través del juego de cartas *iroha karuta*” [Proposal to Learn Japanese Proverbs and Culture through the *iroha karuta* Card Game], in Immaculada Aznar Díaz, et al., eds., *Investigación e innovación educativa: tendencias y retos*, Madrid: Dykinson, 2020, pp. 355–365; María Teresa Rodríguez Navarro, Allison Beeby, “Millán-Astray’s Translation of Nitobe’s *Bushido: The Soul of Japan*,” *Meta: Journal des traducteurs / Meta: Translators’ Journal* vol. 54, no. 2, 2009, pp. 218–232.

Malaga has a major in Korean studies.

Although it does not have a research group focused on Japanese studies, the presence of Japan in the University of Seville dates back to the 1990s: Fernando García Gutiérrez taught optional subjects on East Asian art at the Faculty of Geography and History,<sup>27</sup> and Fernando Rodríguez-Izquierdo on Japanese literature and poetry in the Department of Spanish Language, Linguistics and Theory of Literature in the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts. Rodríguez-Izquierdo received his PhD at the University of Seville in 1972 with a dissertation on haiku that is considered the first doctoral dissertation in Japanese studies to be defended in Spain.<sup>28</sup> Thirty years later, in the same university he supervised the PhD dissertation of Elena Gallego Andrada (Sophia University). Gallego Andrada is a recognized translator of Japanese literary works, along with the fondly remembered Montse Watkins, who founded in Japan the pioneer publishing house Luna Books, specializing in the publication of direct Spanish translations of Japanese literature. At the University of Seville, we should also remember the pioneering work of Nagakawa Reiji 永川玲二, a writer, scholar, and translator of authors such as James Joyce and Federico García Lorca. After teaching English literature at the University of Tokyo, Nagakawa created in the late 1980s the Japanese section in the Language Institute of the University of Seville, where today Japanese is taught at intermediate level thanks to the teaching efforts of Kiuchi Miyako 木内都 and Okita Ayami 沖田綾美.

Today, noteworthy in terms of research is the work of Rafael Abad de los Santos, who is also part of the HUME (USAL), as well as the poetic inquiry into haiku undertaken by Vicente Haya.<sup>29</sup> From the University of Seville, Abad de los Santos organized, together with Anjhara Gómez Aragón and Okita Ayami, the 11th National and 2nd International AEJE Conference, under the title “Japan and the West: Cultural Heritage as a Meeting Point” (Seville, 2014).<sup>30</sup>

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27 Fernando García Gutiérrez, *El arte de Japón: lo sagrado, lo caballeresco y otros temas* [The Art of Japan: The Sacred, the Chivalrous, and Other Themes], Sevilla: Guadalquivir, 2008.

28 Published as Fernando Rodríguez Izquierdo, *El haiku japonés. Historia y traducción* [Japanese Haiku: History and Translation], Madrid: Hiperión, 1993. Three years later, in 1996, he received the Noma Literary Translation Prize (Kodansha International).

29 Rafael Abad de los Santos, trans. and ed., *Estampas del Gran Japón* [Prints of Great Japan], Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, Metropolisiana Ediciones, 2016; Vicente Haya, *Awake. Iniciación al haiku japonés* [Aware: Introduction to Japanese Haiku], Barcelona: Kairós, 2018.

30 Anjhara Gómez Aragón, ed., *Japón y Occidente: el patrimonio cultural como punto de encuentro* [Japan and the West: Cultural Heritage as a Meeting Point], Sevilla: Aconcagua Libros, 2016.

## 2. A Growing Academic Field: The Dissemination of Japanese Studies

Besides the institutions considered above, and continuing this review of Japanese studies in Spanish universities, we might mention that at the University of Barcelona (UB), Kobayashi Keiko 小林恵子 played an important role in the teaching of Japanese in the School of Modern Languages. Also at UB, the Faculty of Economics and Business offers its own university-specific Master's in Culture and Business in East Asia (one year), with a notable focus on Japan, under the direction of the specialist in applied economics Àngels Pelegrín Solé. At the Open University of Catalonia (UOC), Lluç López Vidal researches on Japanese foreign policy, and the specialist in Japanese art Muriel Gómez Pradas—who is also a member of the research group Japan and Spain: Relations through Art at UNIZAR—conducts research on the *mingei undō* 民芸運動 folk craft movement.<sup>31</sup>

Moreover, Japanese is also taught at the language center of another university in Barcelona, Pompeu Fabra University (UPF), and it is offered as an optional subject in the Bachelor's Degree in Global Studies in its Faculty of Humanities. There, a range of East Asia-focused content forms part of the Global Studies Program, the Bachelor's Degree in Humanities, and the Official Master's Degree in Asia-Pacific Studies in a Global Context, giving rise to several doctoral dissertations in humanities. In addition, as an optional subject, Japanese is taught as part of the International Business and Marketing Degree in the School of International Studies by Imoto Akiko 井本 晶子. Although UPF's interest is mainly focused on China and the Southeast Pacific, in the Faculty of Humanities, Raquel Bouso, an expert on Japanese philosophy, organized the First International Conference of the European Network of Japanese Philosophy, has conducted research on Japanese thought in modern times, and has promoted the *European Journal of Japanese Philosophy* since its creation in 2016.<sup>32</sup>

Likewise, in universities throughout Spain, researchers are addressing a number

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31 Muriel Gómez Pradas, "El movimiento *Mingei* en las colecciones del Museu Etnològic de Barcelona" [The *Mingei* Movement in the Collections of the Ethnological Museum of Barcelona], *Artígrama* no. 26, 2012, pp. 871–877.

32 Raquel Bouso, James W. Heisig, eds., *Frontiers of Japanese Philosophy 6: Cross-Currents and Confluences*, Nagoya: Nanzan Institute for Religion & Culture, 2009; and *La filosofía japonesa en sus textos* [Spanish version of *Japanese Philosophy: A Sourcebook*, by James W. Heisig, Thomas P. Kasulis, and John C. Maraldo], Barcelona: Herder, 2016.

of different themes and subject areas related to Japan. Although it is not possible to mention all their names here, many of them form part of the AEJE, and regularly present their research at its conferences. Among them are specialists in cinema such as Antonio Santos Aparicio<sup>33</sup> (University of Cantabria), Irene González-López<sup>34</sup> (Kingston University, London), José Montaña (Rikkyo University), and Lorenzo J. Torres Hortelano<sup>35</sup> (King Juan Carlos University in Madrid); popular culture, Raúl Fortes Guerrero (University of Valencia), Manuel Hernández-Pérez<sup>36</sup> (University of Hull), Francisco Javier López Rodríguez (US), Antonio Míguez Santa Cruz (University of Córdoba), and José Andrés Santiago Iglesias (University of Vigo); international relations, María Francisca Casado Claro<sup>37</sup> (European University of Madrid), Just Castillo (UAB); history, Antonio Blat (University of Valencia), Jonathan López-Vera<sup>38</sup> (UPF), Manuel de Moya Martínez (University of Córdoba), Andrés Pérez Riobó (Doshisha University) and Gonzalo San Emeterio Cabañes (UAM);<sup>39</sup> architecture, Pedro Luis Gallego Fernández<sup>40</sup> (UVa), Félix Ruiz de la Puerta<sup>41</sup> (Madrid School of Architecture), and Javier Vives Rego<sup>42</sup> (AEJE); literature and translation, Iván Díaz Sancho (University of Kyoto), José Pazó Espinosa (UAM), Pau Pitarch

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33 Antonio Santos Aparicio, *Kenji Mizoguchi*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1993; Antonio Santos Aparicio, *Yasujiro Ozu: elogio del silencio* [Yasujiro Ozu: Eulogy of Silence], Madrid: Cátedra, 2005.

34 Irene González-López, Michael Smith, eds., *Tanaka Kinuyo: Nation, Stardom and Female Subjectivity*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018.

35 Lorenzo J. Torres Hortelano, ed, *Dialectics of the Goddess in Japanese Audiovisual Culture*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2018.

36 Manuel Hernández-Pérez, *Manga, anime y videojuegos. Narrativa cross-media japonesa* [Manga, Anime and Videogames: Japanese Cross-media Narrative], Zaragoza: Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 2017.

37 María Francisca Casado Claro, *Fukushima. Crónica de un desastre anunciado* [Fukushima: The Chronicle of a Disaster Foretold], Zaragoza: Prensas de la Universidad de Zaragoza, 2019.

38 Jonathan López-Vera, *A History of Samurai: Legendary Warriors of Japan*, Tokyo: Tuttle, 2020.

39 Andrés Pérez Riobó, Gonzalo San Emeterio Cabañes, *Japón en su historia: de los primeros pobladores hasta la era Reiwa* [Japan in Its History: From the First Settlers to the Reiwa Era], Gijón: Satori, 2020.

40 Pedro Luis Gallego Fernández, Pilar Garcés García, eds., *Arquitectura contemporánea de Japón. Nuevos territorios* [Contemporary Architecture of Japan: New Territories], Valladolid: Universidad de Valladolid, 2015.

41 Félix Ruiz de la Puerta, *Arquitecturas de la memoria* [Architectures of Memory], Madrid: Akal, 2009.

42 Javier Vives Rego, *Arquitectura tradicional de Japón* [Traditional Architecture of Japan] and *Arquitectura moderna de Japón* [Modern Architecture of Japan], Gijón: Satori, 2019.

Fernández (Waseda University), Carlos Rubio<sup>43</sup> (UCM), and Jordi Serrano-Muñoz (Waseda University); and art, José Blanco Perales (University of Oviedo), Carolina Plou Anadón (UNIZAR), Javier Villalba (UCM), and Ricard Bru Turull (UAB). As an art expert and curator, Bru Turull has curated major exhibitions like *Japonism: The Fascination for Japanese Art* (CaixaForum Barcelona-Madrid, 2013–2014), *Japanese Prints in the Museo del Prado* (The Prado Museum, Madrid, 2013), and *Secret Images: Picasso and the Japanese Erotic Print* (Picasso Museum Barcelona, 2009–2010).

As we pointed out at the beginning of this essay, it would require a specific article to address the situation of Japanese-language teaching and research in Spanish universities. We should, however, briefly mention that as well as the aforementioned universities, Japanese is also taught in, among others, the University of the Basque Country, which has a Japanese-language readership in its Faculty of Arts; and at the University of Valencia, where Japanese is offered as an optional subject in the Degree in Modern Languages and Their Literatures, and in the Minor in Languages and Literatures of East Asia, taught in the Faculty of Philology, Translation and Communication. In this same faculty, Japanese classes are given to different levels in the university language center, and mention should be made of Amparo Montaner Montava's promotion of Japanese-language study.<sup>44</sup>

The University of Alicante gives Japanese classes in the Asian-Pacific Relations Office and the Center for Oriental Asian Studies. The Japanese section is overseen by Itakura Norika 板倉法香, the current president of the APJE, and Benito Elías García Valero teaches literary theory and comparative literature with an emphasis on Japan in the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts. In the Canary Islands, an interest in Japan can be seen in the different initiatives of the University of La Laguna, located on the island of Tenerife, as well as on the neighbouring island of Gran Canaria, where the Japanese Consulate is based. In Gran Canaria, in the School of Architecture at the University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Jin Javier Taira Alonso teaches architecture

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43 Carlos Rubio, *Claves y textos de la literatura japonesa* [Keys and Texts of Japanese Literature]. Madrid: Cátedra, 2007. He also directs the book series “Masters of Japanese Literature” in Satori publishing house.

44 See, for example, María Amparo Montaner Montava, *Caracterización lingüística de la lengua japonesa para hablantes de español* [Linguistic Characterization of Japanese Language for Spanish Speakers], *LynX* no. 21, 2012; and “Los Estudios Japoneses en España. Situación y perspectivas desde la lingüística” [Japanese Studies in Spain: Situation and Perspectives from Linguistics], in María Amparo Montaner Montava, María Querol Bataller, eds., “Lenguas de Asia Oriental: estudios lingüísticos y discursivos,” *LynX* no. 18, 2010, pp. 9–41.

and urbanism with an emphasis on Japan, and the Faculty of Translation and Interpreting has offered beginner classes in Japanese, taught by Saitō Chikako 齋藤 周子. This faculty has also served as an exam center for the JLPT since 2019 with the support of the Japan Foundation in Madrid together with the Japanese School of Las Palmas.

Separate mention should be made of the university language centers that teach Japanese as a subject additional to study programs. There are in fact many universities in Spain that teach Japanese in their language centers to different levels: for example, the Language Centre of the University of Malaga; the Language Service of the University of Murcia; the Foreign Language Centre of the University of Alcalá; the Language Centre of the University of León; and the Modern Language Centre of the University of Santiago de Compostela, which has organized the JLPT since 2012, and whose Japanese area head, Takahashi Minako 高橋水無子, was until recently the president of the APJE and also promoted the Galician Society of Nippon Studies; the Modern Language Centre of the UOC; and the University Centre for Distance Language Learning of the National Distance Education University (UNED), whose head, Sugiyama Chihiro 杉山千尋, is the current vice-president of the APJE.

Likewise, Japanese is taught in three of the four polytechnic universities that exist in Spain, namely, at the Polytechnic University of Catalonia (UPC) through the long-standing student association known as the Circle for Oriental Studies; in the Language Centre of the Polytechnic University of Valencia; and in the Language Service of the Polytechnic University of Cartagena. Finally, there are many Official School of Language (EOI) centers that offer Japanese classes throughout Spain, as official language schools funded and managed by the regional education authorities of their respective regional governments.

Furthermore, different public and cultural diplomacy institutions organize seminars, lectures, and Japanese courses for the general public, and collaborate with universities to promote academic activities on Japan. In particular, from the Japanese government side, there is the Japan Foundation in Madrid, established in 2009 with the aim of promoting Japanese studies in Spain and language and cultural exchange between Japan and Spain; the Cultural Section of the Japanese Embassy in Madrid, the cultural area of the Consulate-General of Japan in Barcelona, and the Japanese Consulate in Las Palmas (Canary Islands). The Spanish government established Casa Asia, a public consortium founded in Barcelona in 2001, consisting of the Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the European Union, the regional government of



Catalonia, and the Barcelona and Madrid city councils. Casa Asia aims to foster the presence of Spanish companies in Asia, and to analyze Asian current affairs through public activities that increase knowledge about the Asian reality in Spain and relations with the region. Rafael Bueno, director of Politics & Society and Education at Casa Asia, deserves a special mention for his continued promotion of East Asian studies in Spain. We should also mention private foundations and think tanks like the Elcano Royal Institute, an institution founded in 2001 that focuses on international and strategic studies conducted from a Spanish, European, and global perspective. The institute balances public and private interests with the goal of promoting knowledge of the current international situation and of Spain's foreign relations, providing a focal point for debate, and the generation of ideas that may prove useful in political decision-making processes. Similarly, the CIDOB (Barcelona Centre for International Affairs) is an independent civil society institution that seeks to analyze global issues affecting political, social, and governance dynamics at both the international and local level, with a view to influencing decision-making processes and providing alternative solutions. Founded in 1973, the CIDOB has a section dedicated to Asia-Pacific research led by Oriol Farrés, who co-coordinates the *CIDOB International Yearbook*. Related to CIDOB, the Barcelona Institute of International Studies (IBEI) is an interuniversity institute created in 2004 as part of a joint effort from all five public universities in the Barcelona metropolitan area (UB, UAB, UPC, UPE, UOC) to promote postgraduate training and research in politics and international relations, in order to advance the understanding of global challenges to governance in the contemporary world. It offers different master's programs in the fields of international relations, security, development, and public policy, in which Japan has a prominent role.

Finally, it should be pointed out that many of the aforementioned groups, research centers, and universities are members of international associations and networks that specialize in Japanese studies: for example, REDIAO (Ibero-American Research Network in East Asian Studies), EAJS (European Association for Japanese Studies), EAAS (European Alliance for Asian Studies), EastAsiaNet (European Research School Network of Contemporary East Asian Studies), and IIAS (International Institute for Asian Studies). We should also highlight the important scientific efforts to bring structure to Japanese studies in Spain, carried out in collaboration with Spanish universities, by national associations such as APJE, which organizes a nationwide symposium every two years and several annual workshops, the

AEJE, which has organized fourteen national and international conferences,<sup>45</sup> and the AEEAO, which has already organized two international conferences.

### 3. Future Perspectives: Challenges, Unknowns, and Opportunities

Despite getting a late start, Japanese studies in Spain has made impressive progress. Today, eight universities offer study programs that include majors and electives in Japanese studies, and a similar number of universities undertake competitive research projects. The traditional areas of humanities were the first to incorporate Japanese studies into their programs in Spain. However, social sciences are following suit in a process in which scholars have broadened their analytical and methodological frameworks.

Japanese studies in Spain appears to have a solid future if we consider the critical mass and academic excellence of both scholars and students, who, on different levels, are looking to develop their professional careers in this field. Nonetheless, we cannot enjoy the same optimism with respect to institutional support and funding. In the first aspect (critical mass and academic excellence) over the last ten years an increasing number of the younger generation are interested in learning Japanese, largely thanks to the influence that Japanese popular culture and cultural industries have in Spain. It is no coincidence that the largest manga fair in Europe has been held in Barcelona since 1995, and that 152,000 visitors came to the 2019 fair. There are other major events such as the Japan Weekend in Madrid and the Videogames and Asian Culture Festival in Seville, which also have a strong following. Although the official figures for students of Japanese often appears to be low—due to how they are broken down into different categories—it should be noted that, according to data of the Japan Foundation in 2018, some 1,740 students were studying Japanese in Spanish universities.<sup>46</sup> It is also important to note that the JLPT has taken place in Spain since it was first offered by the UAB in 1994, ten years after its international launch by the Japan

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45 The AEJE was created in 1992 as an outcome of the Institute of Japanology founded by Mariló Rodríguez del Alisal (EOI Madrid).

46 The Japan Foundation, 『国際交流基金—海外の日本語教育の現状 2018 年度日本語教育機関調査より』 [Survey Report on Japanese Language Education Abroad 2018] <https://www.jpf.go.jp/j/project/japanese/survey/result/dl/survey2018/spreadsheet.pdf> (accessed April 3, 2020). Drawing on this report, Japanese-language students number 12,000 in France, 7,700 in the UK, 7,000 in Germany, 5,600 in Italy, and 190 in Portugal.

Foundation and the Japan Educational Exchanges and Services of the Japanese Government. Since then, more and more venues for the JLPT have been added in Spain, in close collaboration with the largest universities.<sup>47</sup> Proof of this growing interest is the progressive increase in the number of students sitting this exam each year (from 821 in 2010 to 1,412 in 2019).<sup>48</sup>

This is particularly interesting when it comes to considering—and here we address our second issue (institutional support and funding)—the challenges envisaged in the near future for Japanese studies in a context in which the economic situation of Spanish public universities is stifled by a lack of government investment. This problematic situation makes them highly receptive to models of academic collaboration, which can enable their institutions to maintain and develop specific study programs. In the case of East Asian studies, collaboration between universities and foreign cultural diplomacy agencies, has, in recent years, provided an injection of resources for Chinese- and Korean-language and -culture teaching. With an organizational structure that facilitates multiple centers and language classrooms, their effective incorporation into Spain's major universities has meant that the Confucius Institute now has eight centers in Spanish campuses and the King Sejong Institute three venues. By comparison, the one and only office of the Japan Foundation in Madrid, despite its inferior infrastructure, deserves special recognition for its continuing presence and remarkable work, not just in Spain, but also in Portugal. Without entering into the consideration of the implications regarding the geopolitics of knowledge that these collaborative models bring up, it is important not to overlook their influence on the development of new study programs, teaching positions, and mobility grants, which will fuel the development of the professional careers of university students and researchers alike.

Spanish researchers in Japanese studies recognize the importance of the support received from the Japan Foundation through grant programs for the development of academic workshops, conferences, exhibitions, publications, and research and language-learning placements in Japanese institutions. These programs of the Japan Foundation—like the MEXT Scholarship Program in the case of young

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47 UAB (since 1994), UAM (since 2006), University of Santiago de Compostela (since 2012), UGR (since 2014), UCM (since 2016), University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (since 2019), Saint Thomas School of Villanueva [Colegio Santo Tomás de Villanueva (Agustinos-Valencia)] in Valencia (since 2019).

48 Statistical data presented in 2020 by the office of the Japan Foundation in Madrid.

researchers—have historically been key to the development of Japanese studies in Spanish universities, along with the vital contributions of the likes of the Staff Expansion Grant Program, and the programs for Japanese Study Projects and Intellectual Exchange Conferences. However, among university teachers, there is a sense that each year there are fewer places assigned to Spain in the MEXT Scholarship Program, while it continues to serve as the doorway to undertaking long-term academic studies in Japan, and the beginning, therefore, of a future scholarly career. To this reduction in funds for research and study is added the absence in Spain of private foundations that promote Japanese studies, unlike in other countries in Europe. Furthermore, the definition of research priorities in the official calls for regional, national, and European R&D projects have little connection with the work areas found within Japanese studies.

## Conclusion

All of the above raises considerable unknowns regarding the long-term development of Japanese studies in Spain. This is particularly challenging in an increasingly globalized world in which the boundaries of traditional academic fields become blurred, and new social, economic, and political unknowns emerge.

In the last ten years, two major events have been held, co-organized by the Spanish and Japanese governments: the Spain-Japan Dual Year (2013–2014) to mark the 400th anniversary of the arrival in Spain of the Keichō Embassy, and the 150th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Japan and Spain (2018). But the effective involvement of both governments in the long-term support of academic activity still has some way to go in the forthcoming years.

During the last three decades, the field of Japanese studies in Spain has evolved thanks to the efforts and enthusiasm of its researchers. Correspondingly, a great sense of scholarly collaboration has been developed among them, which has also reached their Japanese colleagues. We can say, as a conclusion, that the dedication of both has contributed to shape Japanese studies in Spain as an academic discipline open to the world, something that, ultimately, fuels their willingness to continue growing with new intellectual synergies that go beyond the walls of their universities.

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## スペインの日本研究——進化する学術分野へ

ブライ・グアルネー\*

岩佐托朗\*\*

スペインにおける日本研究は幾分遅れて開始されたものの、各大学における過去 30 年間の発展には著しいものが見られる。現在、八つの大学が日本研究を含む東アジア研究の枠組みにおいて研究プログラムを提供し、また同じく研究プロジェクトを行っている。日本研究は、研究グループ・研究センター・大学内において、人文科学から社会科学へと分野を拡張してきた。しかし、長期的な視点に立てば、各研究機関への支援・資金不足の課題があり、困難が待ち受けている。本論は、スペインの日本研究に関する研究と教育に焦点を当て、進化する学術分野の全体像を提示する。

キーワード：日本研究、スペイン、東アジア研究、日本語、日本文化

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## アルメニアにおける日本研究

アストギク・ホワニシャン\*

アルメニア共和国の教育機関において日本研究コースが初めて開かれたのは2009年であるため、同国における日本研究の歴史は決して長くない。しかし、20世紀初頭から日本に関する著書が出版され、また日本の文学作品が、ロシア語などの言語を媒介して翻訳されている。本稿では、アルメニア国立図書館で保管されている日本に関する著書や、アルメニア語に翻訳された文学作品を紹介し、アルメニアにおける日本研究の現状や課題について述べる。

キーワード：アルメニア、日本研究、日本文学、翻訳

### はじめに

アルメニア共和国の高等教育機関において日本語教育が始まったのは1992年である。日本語教育の最初の担い手はエレバン人文大学 (Yerevan Institute of the Humanities) であり、筆者を含む日本研究・日本語教育に携わっている学者・教育者のほとんどはこの大学の卒業生である。2009年にはロシア・アルメニア大学 (Russian-Armenian University) にも日本語講座が開設された。2012年にエレバン人文大学が廃校となったため、現在ではロシア・アルメニア大学はアルメニアで唯一、日本語と日本研究を専攻分野として学べる大学である。

このように、アルメニアの高等教育機関における日本語教育・日本研究の歴史は決して長くないが、20世紀初頭から日本に関する著書がアルメニア語で出

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版されており、さらにロシア語などの外国語から日本の文学作品が翻訳されていた。本稿では、20 世紀初頭からアルメニア語で出版された日本に関する著書や翻訳文学について紹介した上で、ロシア・アルメニア大学を中心に現在のアルメニア共和国における日本研究について述べる。

## アルメニア語で出版された日本に関する著書

アルメニア国立図書館（National Library of Armenia）に所蔵されている日本に関する最も古い著書は 1904 年に出版された『日本』という冊子である。アルメニアの児童文学作家ヘンコ・アペルによるもので、日本の地理、気候など基礎情報が記されていることからして、この年に開戦した日露戦争により、日本への関心が高まったことから出版されたと考えられる。同年、ハチク・ハチャトリアンによる同じ表題の別の冊子も出版される。1905 年にはヘギネ・メリク＝ハイカジャンの『日本一周旅行記』が出版されるが、これはメリク＝ハイカジャンの日本旅行に関する感想、体験などを綴ったものである。

それ以降アルメニア語で出版された日本に関する著書を次のように分類できる。

- 1) 日本の歴史に関するもの。明治維新や戦後復興について述べたものがほとんどである。ただし、独自の研究を行ったものはほとんどなく、主としてロシア語など外国語で書かれた論文・学術書を参考にして執筆されている。
- 2) 日本とアルメニアの交流・関係史。ここで特に注目したいのはアルツヴィ・バフチニャン（アルメニア科学アカデミー研究員）の『アルメニアと日本の歴史的・文化的交流』（2017 年）である。バフチニャンはアルメニア語の膨大な資料を使用し、20 世紀における日本とアルメニアの交流史について述べている。
- 3) 紀行。上記のメリク＝ハイカジャンの旅行記以外は、詩人のナイリ・ザリアンや哲学者のゲヴォルグ・ブルティアンの日本滞在記がある。ザリアンは日本訪問をきっかけに日本文学に関心を持ちはじめ、のちに俳句や短歌をロシア語から重訳している。

以下、アルメニア国立図書館で保管されている日本に関する著書をあげる。



なお、一部（No. 1、2、4、5、8）はロシア語など外国語から翻訳されていると考えられるが、原文の情報がないため確認することは困難である。

表 1 アルメニア語で書かれた日本に関する著書  
（英語と日本語の訳は、本稿の著者による）

No.	著者・タイトル・出版地・版元・出版年	内容
1	Խնկո Ապեր, Եապօնիա, Աղէքսանդրապօլ, Տպարան Գէորգ Ս. Սանդեանցի, 1904  Khenko Aper, <i>Japan</i> , Alexandrapol: Georg S. Sanoyeants Publishing, 1904 ヘンコ・アペル『日本』、アレクサンドラポール：ゲオルグ・S・サノイアンツ印刷、1904 年	日本の基礎情報。
2	Խաչիկ Խաչատրյան, Եապօնիա, Թիֆլիս, Տպարան Մովսէս Վարդանեանցի, 1904  Khachik Khachatryan, <i>Japan</i> , Tiflis: Movses Vardaneants Press, 1904 Kh. ハチク・ハチャトリアン『日本』、トビリシ：モフセス・ヴァルダネアンツ出版、1904 年	日本の地理、気候、歴史に関する基礎情報。
3	Հեղինէ Մելիք-Հայկազեան, Մի պտոյտ ճապոնում, Թիֆլիս, Հերմէս տպարան, 1905  Heghine Melik-Haykazyan, <i>Travelling Around Japan</i> , Tiflis: Hermes Press, 1905 ヘギネ・メリク＝ハイカジャン『日本一周旅行記』、トビリシ：ヘルメス、1905 年	著者は日本を旅し、日本の町や人、文化、歴史、社会について述べている。
4	Թ. Թագվորյան, Ճապոնական գյուղացիության դրությունը, Յերեվան, Գյուղհրատ 1934  T. Tagvoryan, <i>The Current Situation of Japanese Peasantry</i> , Yerevan: Gyughhrat, 1934 T. タグヴォリャン『日本農民の現状』、エレバン：ギュグヘラト、1934 年	日本の経済、特に農業や農民のおかれた状況について詳細に述べている。働く女性に関する記述もあり非常に興味深い。
5	Ա. Պողոսյան, Ճապոնիան 19-րդ դարի կեսերին, Երևան, 1940  A. Poghosyan, <i>Japan in the Second Half of the 19th Century</i> , Yerevan (n. p.), 1940 A. ポゴシヤン『19世紀後半の日本』、エレバン（出版社不明）、1940 年	主として明治維新や日本の近代化の過程について述べられている。

6	<p>Ար. Մնացականյան, Սովետական բանակի մղած մարտերը ճապոնական զավթիչների դեմ և հայ ռազմիկների մասնակցությունն այդ մարտերին, «Տեղեկագիր Հայկական ՍՍՌ Գիտությունների Ակադեմիայի», 1950, էջ 3-15</p> <p>Ar. Mnatsakanyan, "The Soviet Army's Battles Against Japanese Invaders and Armenian Soldiers' Participation in These Battles," in <i>Bulletin of the Academy of Sciences of the Armenian SSR</i>, 1950, pp. 3-15</p> <p>Ar. ムナツァカニャン 「日本人侵略者に対するソ連軍の戦闘とその戦闘におけるアルメニア人軍人の参加」、『アルメニア・ソビエト連邦科学アカデミー紀要』1950年、3～15頁</p>	<p>ソ連対日参戦に参加したアルメニア系軍人に関する学術論文。</p>
7	<p>Նաիրի Զարյան, Այնտեղ ծաղկում էր բալենին... Ճապոնական տպավորություններ (Երկերի ժողովածու վեց հատորով, վեցերորդ հատոր), Երևան, Հայպետհրատ, 1964</p> <p>Nairi Zarian, <i>The Country of Cherry Blossoms: Impressions of Japan</i>, Yerevan: Haypethrat, 1964</p> <p>ナイリ・ザリアン 『あそこに桜が咲いていた：日本の印象』、エレバン：ハイベトフラト、1964年</p>	<p>詩人のナイリ・ザリアン（1900-1969）の日本訪問・滞在に関する著作。ザリアンは日本の印象・感想以外は日本人作家との交流、日本の戦後文学、文学者の役割などについても述べている。</p>
8	<p>Լիդա Պետրոսյան, Ճապոնիայի տնտեսական զարգացումը (դասախոսություն), Երևան: Երևանի համալսարանի հրատարակչություն, 1976</p> <p>Lida Petrosyan, <i>The Japanese Economic Development (Lectures)</i>, Yerevan: Yerevan State University Press, 1976</p> <p>リダ・ペトロシヤン 『日本の経済的发展（講義集）』、エレバン：エレバン大学出版会、1976年</p>	<p>主として明治維新や日本の近代化について述べられている。戦後経済復興に関する記述は少ない。</p>
9	<p>Գեորգ Բրուտյան, Չընթերցված գրքի էջերից, Երևան, «Հայաստան», 1987</p> <p>Gevorg Brutyan, <i>Pages from an Unread Book</i>, Yerevan: Hayastan, 1987</p> <p>ゲヴォルグ・ブルティアン 『未読の本』、エレバン：ハヤスタン、1987年</p>	<p>哲学者のゲヴォルグ・ブルティアン（1926-2015）の日本滞在に関する感想・回想、日本人学者との学術交流に関する著作。</p>

10	<p>Յիկոլայ Հովհաննիսյան, Միքայել Ամիրխանյան, Ռուբեն Կարապետյան, Հայաստան-Ճապոնիա: Քաղաքական, տնտեսական, մշակութային և գիտական հարաբերություններ, Երևան, Ջանգակ, 2005</p> <p>Nikolay Hovhannisyan, Mikael Amirkhanyan, Ruben Karapetyan, eds., <i>Armenia-Japan: Political, Economic, Cultural, and Scientific Relations</i>, Yerevan: Zangak, 2005</p> <p>ホヴァニッシャン、アミルハニャン、カラペチャン（編）『アルメニア・日本：政治・経済・文化・科学的な交流』、エレバン：ザンガク、2005 年</p>	<p>アルメニアと日本の外交関係の成立、経済協力、日本政府開発援助、文化交流、アルメニアにおける日本語教育や日本とアルメニアの関係史について述べた著書。</p>
11	<p>Վ. Նավասարդյան, Մեծ Խինգանից մինչև Պորտ-Արթուր: Հայ ռազմիկների մասնակցությունը ճապոնական Կվանտունյան բանակի ջախջախմանը Հեռավոր Արևելքում, Երևան, Գասպրինտ, 2006</p> <p>V. Navasardyan, <i>From Greater Khingan to Port Arthur: Armenian Soldiers' Participation in the Defeat of the Kwantung Army in the Far East</i>, Yerevan: Gasprint, 2006</p> <p>Վ. Նավասարդյան 『大興安嶺山脈から旅順口まで：極東における関東軍の敗北とアルメニア人軍人の戦闘参加』、エレバン：ガスプリント、2006 年</p>	<p>ソ連対日参戦におけるアルメニア人軍人の参加、またその軍人の経歴などを紹介した著書。</p>
12	<p>Սամվել Ֆարմանյան, Ճապոնական հրաշքը և ճապոնացիները, Երևան, Հայագիտակ, 2012</p> <p>Samvel Farmanyan, <i>Japanese Miracle and the Japanese</i>, Yerevan: Hayagitak, 2012</p> <p>サンベル・ファルマニャン 『日本の経済復興と日本人』、エレバン：ハイギタク、2012 年</p>	<p>日本の戦後復興や日本人のアイデンティティーを取り扱う著書。</p>
13	<p>Եվա Հարությունյան, Ճապոնիայի քաղաքականությունը Պարսից ծոցի տարածաշրջանում և ծոցի համագործակցության խորհուրդը (1981–2011), Երևան, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ «Գիտություն» հրատարակչություն, 2016</p> <p>Yeva Harutyunyan, <i>Japan's Policy in the Persian Gulf Region and the Gulf Cooperation Council</i>, Yerevan: Gitutyun, 2016</p> <p>イエヴァ・ハルチュンヤン 『ペルシヤ湾地域における日本の政策と湾岸協力会議』、エレバン：アルメニア科学アカデミー出版会、2016 年</p>	<p>タイトル通り、ペルシヤ湾地域における日本の外交や政策を扱っている著書。</p>

14	<p>Արծվի Բախչինյան, Հայ-ճապոնական պատմական և մշակութային առնչությունները, Երևան, ՀՀ ԳԱԱ Պատմության ինստիտուտ, 2017</p> <p>Artsvi Bakhchinyan, <i>Armenian-Japanese Historical and Cultural Connections</i>, Yerevan: Institute of History, National Academy of Sciences of RA, 2017</p> <p>アルツヴィ・バフチニャン 『アルメニアと日本の歴史的・文化的交流』、エレバン：アルメニア科学アカデミー出版会、2017 年</p>	<p>20 世紀前半、横浜でアルメニア駐日領事に任命されたダイアナ・アプカー。日本における活動を始め、日本とアルメニアの歴史的・文化的関係について述べている。アルメニア語の一次資料が豊富に使われており、ドキュメントとして貴重である。</p>
15	<p>Գևորգ Բիլիմջյան, Հնդկաստանի, Չինաստանի և Ճապոնիայի միջնադարի ու նոր ժամանակների պատմություն (դասախոսություններ), Երևան, Մեկնարկ 2018</p> <p>Gevorg Kilimjyan, <i>Pre-modern and Modern History of India, China, and Japan (lectures)</i>, Yerevan: Meknark, 2018</p> <p>ゲヴォルグ・キリムジャン 『インド、中国と日本の近世・近代史（講義集）』、エレバン：メクナルク、2018 年</p>	<p>江戸時代の政治と社会、明治維新、日清戦争、日露戦争や第一次世界大戦下の日本についての著作。主としてロシア語の資料が使われており、独自の研究は行われていない。</p>

## 日本文学の翻訳

20 世紀から、アルメニアでは日本文学への関心がかなり高かったと言える。特に芥川龍之介、川端康成、安部公房の作品が広く読まれており、俳句や短歌の愛読者も多かった。しかし、ソビエト時代のアルメニアでは日本語教育が実施されておらず、専門家がいなかったため、日本の文学作品は主としてロシア語から重訳されていた。

現在も日本文学は広く読まれており、特に村上春樹の作品が高い人気を誇っている。近年は、原文からの翻訳の試みもされ、2020 年には、村上春樹の『ノルウェイの森』と村田沙耶香の『コンビニ人間』が出版された。

以下、アルメニア語に翻訳された文学作品をあげる。

表2 アルメニア語に翻訳された日本の民話や文学作品

(No. 24、28～30 以外はロシア語等外国語からの重訳である。日本語タイトルは、原題でない場合は本稿の筆者の訳による)

No.	作品名・翻訳出版年	翻訳者
1	Փոքրիկ ձկնորսը: Ճապոնական հեքիաթ, Թիֆլիս, Մ. Սղանեանցի տպարան, 1910 『浦島太郎：日本の民話』	Հովհաննես Թումանյան ホヴァネス・トゥマニャン
2	Եսապոնական հեքիաթներ, Թիֆլիզ, Տպարան «Հերմես» 1910 『日本の民話』	Գրիգոր Շահբուդաղեան グリゴル・シャープダギャン
3	Թերակոյա գիղական ուսումնարան. Ճապոնական դրամա մեկ արարիաժով, Թիֆլիս, «Հերմես», 1912 『寺子屋：菅原伝授手習鑑』	Աստղիկ Սմբատեան アストギク・スμπアティアン
4	Մ. Տոկունագա, Անարև Թաղամասը, Երևան, Պետհրատ, 1937 徳永直『太陽のない街』	Գուրգեն Բելլերյան グルゲン・ケレリャン
5	Ճապոնական հեքիաթներ, Երևան, Հայպետհրատ, 1959 『日本の民話』	Սերգեյ Ումառյան セルゲイ・ウマリャン
6	Տերու Տակակուրա, Խակոնեի ջրերը, Երևան, Հայպետհրատ, 1960 高倉輝『箱根用水の話』	Հարություն Թուրշյան ハルチューン・トゥルシヤン
7	Ֆումիկո Խայասի, Վեց պատմվածք, Երևան, Հայպետհրատ 1963 林芙美子『六つの物語』（「夜猿」、「ボルネオ・ダイヤモンド」、「軍歌」、「河沙魚」、「晩菊」、「牛肉」を収録）	Ռաֆայել Արամյան ラファエル・アラミャン
8	Ակուտագավա Բյունոսկե, Թավրուտում, Երևան, Հայպետհրատ, 1964 芥川龍之介『藪の中』	Նորայր Ադալյան Նոլալիլ・Ադալիյան
9	Հոքոներ և Թանկաներ, Երևան, Հայաստան, 1965 『俳句と短歌』	Նաիրի Զարյան Նայիրի・Յարիան
10	Ճապոնական ծաղկեփունջ. Բանաստեղծություններ, Երևան, Հայաստան, 1966 『日本の和歌集』	Նաիրի Զարյան Նայիրի・Յարիան
11	Էնդո Սյուսակու, Ծով և Թույն, Երևան, Հայաստան, 1967 遠藤周作『海と毒薬』	Վլադիմիր Դանիելյան Վլադիմիր・Դանիելյան
12	Սեյտյո Մացումոտո, Ստորջրյա հոսանք, Երևան, Հայաստան, 1968 松本清張『深層海流』	Շոդիկ Սաֆյան Շոօգիկ・Սաֆիան

13	Աբե Կոբո, Չորրորդ սառցադաշտային ժամանակաշրջանը, Երևան, Հայաստան, 1969 安部公房『第四間氷期』	Հ. Մարգարյան H. マルガリャン
14	Էնդո Սյուսակու, Ամուսնական կյանք, Երևան, Հայաստան, 1972 遠藤周作『結婚』	Ելենա Դավթյան エレナ・ダヴティアン
15	Սեիտե Մացունոտո, Կետեր և զծեր, Երևան, Հայաստան, 1973 松本清張『点と線』	Մարջիկ Սաֆարյան マルジク・サファリャン
16	Էյսուկե Նակաձոնո, Արձիճը բոցերի մեջ, Երևան, Սովետական գրող, 1976 中蘭英助『炎の中の鉛』	Մարջիկ Սաֆարյան マルジク・サファリャン
17	Յասունարի Կավաբատա, Հազարաթև կոռունկը = Ձյունոտ երկիրը = Ճապոնիայի գեղեցկությամբ ծնված, Երևան, Սովետական գրող, 1978 川端康成『千羽鶴・雪国・美しい日本の私』（表題の3作を収録）	Մանե Ջարեյան マネ・サレヤン
18	Յասունարի Կավաբատա, Լեռան հռաչանքը, Երևան, Սովետական գրող, 1981 川端康成『山の音』	Անժելա Ստեփանյան アンジェラ・ステパニャン
19	Աբե Կոբո, Երեք վեպ. Ավազուտների կինը, Ուրիշի դեմքը, Այրված քարտեզը, Երևան, Սովետական գրող, 1985 安部公房『三つの小説：砂の女・他人の顔・燃えつきた地図』（表題の3作を収録）	Կարեն Սիմոնյան カレン・シモニャン
20	Ճապոնական պոեզիա, Երևան, Նաիրի, 1993 『和歌』	Այդին Մորիկյան アイディン・モリキャン
21	Կենձաբուրո Օե, Պատմվածքներ, Երևան, Նոր Դար, 1998 大江健三郎『短編小説』	Գուրգեն Խանճյան グルゲン・ハンジャン
22	Էդոգավա Ռամպո, Ճաքած նուռը: Դետեկտիվ պատմվածքներ, Երևան, Միվա-պրես, 2000 江戸川乱歩『石榴』	Վ. Ստեփանյան V. ステパニャン
23	Ծաղկած բալենի: Հոքուներ և թանկաներ, Երևան, Իրավունք, 2008 『俳句と短歌』	Նաիրի Ջարյան, Այդին Մորիկյան ナイリ・ザリアン、アイデイン・モリキャン
24	Ռյունոսկե Ակուտագավա, Թավուտում, Երևան, Անտարես, 2009 芥川龍之介『藪の中』	Ալիսա Տոնականյան アリサ・トナカニャン

25	Իսիկավա Թաքուրբու, Սորուն ավագ: Թանկաներ, Երևան, Իրավունք, 2009 石川啄木 『一握の砂』	Անահիտ Խաչատրյան アナヒト・ハチャトゥリアン
26	Մելյոյ Մացունոտո, Երկիր անապատ, Երևան, Էդիթ Պրինտ, 2010 松本清張 『砂漠の塩』	Արտաշես Մարտիրոսյան アルタシェス・マルティロシヤン
27	Ֆումինորի Նականուրա, Գրպանահատը, Երևան, Գիտանք, 2017 中村文則 『掏摸』	Ալեքսանդր Աղաբեկյան アレクサンダー・アガベキヤン
28	Ֆումիկո Հայաշի, Տոկիո, Երևան, «Մեկ պատմվածք» մատենաշար, 2019 林芙美子 『下町』	Աստղիկ Հովհաննիսյան アストギク・ホワニシヤン
29	Հարուկի Մուրակամի, Նորվեգական անտառ, Երևան, Անտարես, 2020 村上春樹 『ノルウェイの森』	Լիլիթ Խանսուլյան リリット・ハンスリヤン
30	Սայակա Մուրատա, Կոնբինիի մարդը, Երևան, Անտարես 2020 村田沙耶香 『コンビニ人間』	Աստղիկ Հովհաննիսյան アストギク・ホワニシヤン

## ロシア・アルメニア大学における日本研究

ロシア・アルメニア大学はアルメニアの首都エレバンにあり、1997年に設立された比較的新しい大学である。研究や教育、さらに国際交流に力を入れているため、現在ではアルメニアの大学ランキングで2位の位置にある。この大学の特徴は、アルメニアとロシア両国から予算がついており（いわゆる国家間の大学である）、両言語で教育を実施しているところにある。

先述のように、本大学で日本語教育や日本研究が開始したのは2009年であり、現在では人文学部世界史・地域研究科の学部や大学院において日本研究の専門家による指導・育成が行われている。大学には日本語の教員（専任や非常勤）が5名、筆者を含めた日本研究者が2名勤めている。筆者は日本の優生学史、医療の社会史を中心に研究を進めている。もう1名の日本研究者ルザン・ホジキヤン（PhD・東北大学）は以前民俗学を研究していたが、現在は日本語教育を中心に研究を行っている。その他、主専攻は日本研究ではないが、日本研究科目を担当している教員が4名いる。日本研究を専攻している学生は2019年度の時点で25名おり、日本語の文法・読解・聴解・作文の授業以外に日本史、



日本文化、日本文学、日本社会、日本政治という科目を履修し、日本をテーマにした卒業論文の執筆を義務づけられている。

本大学は筑波大学、京都大学、神戸大学、山形大学と協定、部局間協定あるいは合意覚書を結んでおり、日本の大学との交流に積極的に取り組んでいる。2017年から2019年までは、ロシア・アルメニア大学にて神戸大学、一橋大学、筑波大学、早稲田大学の学生との交流会・意見交換会が行われた。

ロシア・アルメニア大学は2013年に初めて日本研究大会を開催し（「アルメニア、ロシア、日本の文化的対話」2013年9月）、その後2016年、2017年、2019年に「Ex Oriente Lux」という国際日本研究大会を開催した。特に2017年には参加者数が多く（報告者25名）、報告の分野も歴史学、政治学、文学、映画史など多様であった。研究大会の成果はロシア・アルメニア大学出版会から報告書 *Ex Oriente Lux: Изменение мировоззренческой парадигмы от европоцентризма к универсализму* (*Ex Oriente Lux: The Change of the Worldview Paradigm from Eurocentrism to Universalism*) のシリーズとして出版されている。

さらに、本大学は草の根文化無償資金協力の枠組みで2018年3月より「日本語・日本文化センター」を開設し、日本文化や日本研究の普及に尽力している。

## アルメニアの日本研究の展望と課題

現在アルメニアではロシア・アルメニア大学を中心に日本研究専門家の育成が行われている。日本研究に携わっている数少ない研究者が教材、専門書の執筆に取り組んでいるため、近い将来アルメニア語による日本に関する学術書の出版が期待されている。

近年では国際交流基金などの協力もあり、日本研究への関心が高まりつつあるが、課題も多く残っている。たとえば、日本研究科目を担当できる、あるいは学生の卒業論文の指導ができる専門家は非常に少ない。また、日本に関する専門書・学術書が不足しており、予算の関係上海外の日本研究雑誌へのアクセスもほとんどできない。さらに、日本研究プログラムの卒業生に研究者志望の者が比較的少なく、人材の確保も課題である。このような現状が、日本研究の発展を大いに妨げているといえよう。

## Japanese Studies in Armenia

Astghik HOVHANNISYAN\*

The first Japanese studies course in Armenia was only formally established in 2009. However, since the beginning of the twentieth century, a number of books on Japan have been published in the Armenian language. Furthermore, dozens of Japanese literary works have been translated, mainly from Russian into Armenian. The aim of this article is to introduce books about Japan and translations of Japanese literature that can be found in the National Library of Armenia, and to examine the current situation and issues regarding Japanese studies in Armenia.

**Keywords:** Armenia, Japanese studies, Japanese literature, translation

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## 中国における江戸時代怪異小説についての研究

李 杰玲\*

本稿は、中国学術界における江戸時代の怪異小説に関する研究の現状と、その展望を述べたものである。怪異小説の研究は「迷信を排除し、科学を提唱する」という国のモットーにそぐわず、研究に必要な資料も十分ではない。まして、中国人の研究者にとって、江戸時代のくずし字は読みづらい。ゆえに、中国では大学院生の学位論文以外の江戸怪異小説の研究が少なく、大学院生が研究の主力になっている。彼らの研究の多くは、江戸怪異小説を日中比較文学論上に載せて考察している。

キーワード：中国、江戸時代、怪異小説、若手研究

本稿は中国学術界における江戸時代の怪異小説（以下「江戸怪異小説」）についての研究現状とその展望を述べたものである。ここで言う怪異小説は、江戸時代の読本や百物語や草双紙を含み、幽霊、妖怪、鬼及び怪異現象に関して、挿絵が付いている小説を指す。これは、筆者が国際日本文化研究センター（以下「日文研」）の外国人研究員として滞在している期間の研究テーマと関わりがある。筆者は日文研に着任する前、中国側の江戸怪異小説に関わるさまざまな研究成果を集めた。現在も、新しい研究成果については整理を続けている。こうした資料に基づいて、江戸怪異小説に関する中国側の研究の現状を述べる。本稿は体系的な現状調査報告ではないが、研究現状を分析しながら関連問題を提起し、今後の展望を検討することを試みたい。

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怪異小説と言えば、現実と日常生活から離れた幽霊、鬼、妖怪などの話と思われるが、それは、中国の「反对迷信、提倡科学」<sup>1</sup>、即ち迷信的な要素を排除し、科学的な見方や考え方を提唱する思想に沿わない。こうした思想を主導する現在の中国において、全ては合理化される傾向が著しい。幽霊、鬼、妖怪がしばしば登場する怪異小説を研究すれば科学的な考え方に抵触しやすい。それに応じて、怪異小説についての論文を掲載する学術誌も比較的少ないので関連研究も多くない。学会も、民間文学学会、明清小説学会等はあるが、怪異小説学会のようなものはいまだになく、管見によると、中国大陸で行われた日中の妖怪に関するシンポジウムは、中国民俗学会と日文研が共催の「中日妖怪学術研究シンポジウム」（2019年3月23日、北京）が初めてである<sup>2</sup>。

## 江戸怪異小説に関する文献の翻訳と日本語資料の所蔵

中国における江戸怪異小説研究が少ない理由として、上述の「反对迷信、提倡科学」の思想の他に、研究に必要な資料が国内に極めて少ないことも挙げられる。本節では中国にある江戸怪異小説関連資料を記す。

はじめに、中国語訳の資料を見てみよう。2009年から2019年の10年間にわたって、江戸怪異小説についての資料の翻訳出版が続いている。例えば、『図説日本妖怪大全』<sup>3</sup>、『百物語』<sup>4</sup>、『妖怪談義』<sup>5</sup>、『画図百鬼夜行』<sup>6</sup>、『妖怪 YOKAI』<sup>7</sup>、『日本の妖怪大全：妖怪・あの世・神様』<sup>8</sup>、『鳥山石燕画図百鬼夜行全画集』<sup>9</sup>、『決定

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1 中国延安精神研究会（編）《群众工作史》、北京：中央文献出版社、2015年、212頁。

2 中国民俗学会 HP 記事による。<https://www.chinesefolklore.org.cn/web/index.php?NewsID=18885>

3 水木茂《图解日本妖怪大全》、西安：陕西师范大学出版社、2009年。

4 杉浦日向子、刘玮《百物語》上・下、兰州：甘肃人民美术出版社、2013年。2009年にも南海出版社より出版された。

5 柳田国男、贾胜航（译）《妖怪谈义》、重庆：重庆大学出版社、2014年。

6 鸟山石燕（绘）、希年（编）《魑魅魍魎百物語》上・下、哈尔滨：北方文艺出版社、2014年。江戸時代中期の浮世絵師鳥山石燕（1712～1788）の妖怪画200点を紹介したもの。

7 小松和彦、宋衡（译）《妖怪》、北京：新星出版社、2016年。

8 水木茂《妖怪大全》、海口：南海出版公司、2017年。764匹に及ぶ日本の妖怪と112柱の神様、19話の怪談を紹介している。

9 鸟山石燕（绘）、杨雪（编著）《百鬼夜行全画集》、沈阳：万卷出版公司、2018年6月初版、同年9月重版。

版日本の妖怪』<sup>10</sup>、『一日江戸人』<sup>11</sup>、『日本の伝説』<sup>12</sup>、『月岡芳年 没後 120 年記念』<sup>13</sup>などが翻訳されている。その他、京極夏彦の妖怪推理小説シリーズは中国でも人気が高く、若者層に日本の妖怪文化と怪異伝説をある程度普及させる契機となった。中国での京極夏彦の小説の翻訳出版は、2008 年の『姑獲鳥の夏』、2009 年の『巷説百物語』<sup>14</sup>から始まり、2018 年に『奇談百物語・眩』と『書楼吊堂・破曉』<sup>15</sup>が相次いで出版され、現在まで続いている。

ところで、江戸怪異小説の翻訳と言えば、江戸時代後期の上田秋成（1734～1809）の『雨月物語』及び『春雨物語』<sup>16</sup>が挙げられるが、他の江戸怪異小説の翻訳は少なく、江戸怪異小説についての専門知識を持つ研究者や関連研究も少ない。現在、中国では、主にベストセラー小説、及び一般市民向けの挿絵が付いている漫画風の奇譚短編集の形で、江戸怪異小説を受容している。

次に、江戸怪異小説に関する日本語資料について見てみると、『日本古典文学全集（48）』<sup>17</sup>のようなものも所蔵されているが、学術的な研究に必要な資料は足りていない。以下の表 1 に、広東省立中山図書館（広州）、上海図書館、中国国家図書館（北京）、北京外国語大学付属図書館、上海外国語大学付属図書館の五つの図書館に所蔵されている「物語」及び「草紙」に関わる日本語著書の数をまとめた。

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10 小松和彦、飯仓义之（编）、黄昱翔（译）《日本妖怪绘卷》、天津：天津人民出版社、2018 年。

11 杉浦日向子、刘伟（译）《一日江戸人》、北京：北京联合出版公司、2015 年。2007 年 11 月にも陕西师范大学出版社より出版された。

12 柳田国男、曹珺红（译）《日本传说》、西安：陕西人民出版社、2018 年。

13 太田纪念美术馆（编）《月岡芳年 妖怪百物語》、北京：中国华侨出版社、2019 年。

14 京極夏彦《姑獲鳥の夏》、上海：上海人民出版社、2008 年。《巷説百物語》、北京：北京十月文艺出版社、2009 年。

15 京極夏彦《奇談百物語・眩》、成都：四川文艺出版社、2018 年。《書楼吊堂・破曉》、上海：上海人民出版社、2018 年。

16 上田秋成、王新禧（译）《雨月物語 春雨物語》、北京：新世界出版社、2010 年。2014 年にも陕西人民出版社より出版された。

17 中村幸彦、他（校注・訳）『日本古典文学全集（48）英草紙 西山物語 雨月物語 春雨物語』、小学館、1973 年、陕西师范大学所蔵。

表1 「物語」及び「草紙」に関する図書館別蔵書数

図書館	「物語」に関する蔵書数 (冊)	日本語の江戸 怪異小説関連 (冊)	備考
広東省立中山図書館	101	3	1912年開館、蔵書861.18万冊(2017年年末統計)。2018年、「国家一级図書館」の称号を得た。「草(紙)子」で検索すると、『枕草子』のみ抽出された。
上海図書館	144	3 (うち2点は 『雨月物語』 『春雨物語』)	1952年開館、蔵書5500万冊余り(2015年年末統計)。「草(紙)子」で検索すると、江戸怪異小説と関連する資料は『仮名草子』1点だけである。
中国国家図書館 (北京)	600	5 (うち3点は 『雨月物語』 である)	前身は1909年に開館した京師図書館。中国で唯一の国立図書館である。蔵書数は3768.62万冊(2017年12月統計)。「草(紙)子」で検索すると、江戸怪異小説と関連する日本語資料は85点ある。
北京外国語大学 附属図書館	438	28	1941年開館、蔵書は145万冊近い(2018年9月統計)。「草(紙)子」で検索すると、江戸怪異小説と関連する資料は21点ある。
上海外国語大学 附属図書館	357	3	1950年開館、蔵書は108.7万冊余り(2015年1月統計)。「草(紙)子」で検索すると、江戸怪異小説と関連する資料は25点ある。

この表に挙げている図書館は、公共図書館と大学附属図書館を含め、「三大都市」と称される北京、上海、広州に設置されている。この三都市は、それぞれ華北、華東、華南地域全体の経済、文化、教育の中心であるから、これらの図書館の江戸怪異小説に関する蔵書数は、中国の蔵書状況を一定程度反映していると捉えてよいだろう。「物語」に関する蔵書数(冊)」は図書館のホームページのOPACで「物語」と「草(紙)子」をキーワードとして、日本語著書(中国人が日本語で書いた本も含む)に限り、検索して出たものである。筆者はそれらの資料を一冊ごとに現物調査していないが、「一斑をみて全豹を知る」と言うように、表にまとめている蔵書数という「一斑」からも、江戸怪異小説に関する中国所蔵資料が非常に少ない状況を察することができるだろう。中国の研究者は江戸怪異小説の関連資料が十分に入手できず、『日本大百科全書』『新編日本古典文学全集』といった出版物や、「CiNii」などのデータベースも中国で利

用できないため、中国で江戸怪異小説を対象として研究を行うことが困難であることが分かる。筆者自身の例を挙げるなら、数年前、上述の『図説日本妖怪大全』と『百物語』などの訳本から、江戸怪異小説への関心が高まり、特に草双紙において、挿絵と言葉の関係に興味を持ち研究しようと思ったが、資料が足りなかったため、日文研へ来る前には、江戸怪異小説の研究が実現できずにいた。

## 日中比較視座における江戸怪異小説の研究

江戸怪異小説は「反対迷信、提倡科学」に沿わないため、中国では研究に必要な資料も十分ではない。まして、中国人の研究者にとって、江戸時代のくずし字は読みづらい。こうした理由から、筆者が現在まで中国で収集してきた資料を見ると、江戸怪異小説の研究は少なく、博士論文と修士論文を中心に、大学院生が研究の主力となっていることがわかる。

大学院生の論文は、江戸怪異小説を日中比較文学論の俎上に載せて研究することが最も多い。中国最古の地理書『山海経』（前4世紀～3世紀頃成立）で既に登場する異類は、悠久の歴史において生じる伝統的なもので、妖怪、幽霊、鬼などの異類は清代小説でも活躍していた。江戸怪異小説は『山海経』だけではなく、六朝の志怪小説、唐代伝奇、明清小説と密接な関係を持っていることに、若手の研究者たちは注目している。

下記の表2に主要な研究成果の例を示す。

表2 江戸怪異小説を研究対象とする中国の博士論文、修士論文  
(括弧内の日本語タイトルは本稿の著者による訳)

タイトル	作者	専攻	大学	提出年月	比較論	学位論文
日本江戸时期“读本小说”与中国明代小说：以《雨月物语》为中心的考察与研究 (日本江戸時代における読本小説と中国明代小説について：『雨月物語』を中心に)	汪俊文	中国古代文学	上海師範大学	2006年3月	○	修論
《雨月物语》中的人鬼恋小说与明代小说比较研究 (『雨月物語』における人と鬼との恋及びそれと明代小説の比較研究)	李伯祥	比較文学及び世界文学・日本文学	吉林大学	2007年4月	○	修論



日本近世小说观研究 (日本近世小説観についての研究)	勾艶軍	比較文学及び 世界文学・日 中比較文学	天津師 範大学	2008年 4月	○	博論
日本江戸時代読本小说与中国古代小説 (日本における江戸時代の読本小说 と中国古代小説)	汪俊文	中国古代文学	上海師 範大学	2009年 3月	○	博論
从《春雨物語》看上田秋成佛教 觀、町人倫理觀及国学思想 (『春雨物語』から見る上田秋成の仏 教觀、町人の倫理觀及び国学思想)	程玉環	比較文学及び 世界文学・日 本文学	同上	2011年 3月	×	修論
《御伽草子》中的他界：以山中他界为 中心 (『御伽草子』における他界につい て：山中他界を中心に)	李漫琪	日本文学	天津外 国語大 学	2012年 6月	×	修論
关于浅井了意道教思想受容的研究 (浅井了意の道教思想の受容につい て)	嚴珊	日本文学	西安外 国語大 学	2013年 3月	×	修論
《雨月物語》中的儒家思想研究：以其 与《论语》的关系为中心 (『雨月物語』における儒家思想の研 究：『論語』との関わりを中心に)	宋琦	日本文学	内蒙古 大学	2013年 6月	×	修論
上田秋成文学与晚明文学思潮 (上田秋成文学と晚明文学思潮)	岳遠坤	日本文学	北京外 国語大 学	2014年 3月	○	博論
论日本的妖怪文化：以柳田国男的 《妖怪讲义》为中心 (日本における「妖怪」とは何か：柳 田国男の『妖怪談義』を中心として)	傅鵬宇	日本文化	華中師 範大学	2014年 5月	×	修論
从传说的妖怪到绘画的妖怪：浅谈日 本妖怪文化艺术语言的转换和发展 (伝説における妖怪から絵画での妖 怪へ：日本妖怪文化芸術言語の転換 と発展についての一考察)	呉宜簡	美術学	雲南芸 術学院	2014年 6月	×	修論
浅井了意《伽婢子》研究：以对《剪 灯新话》中经世思想的吸收为视角 (浅井了意『御伽婢子』研究：『剪灯 新話』における経世思想への受容を 視点に)	盧俊偉	日本文学	北京外 国語大 学	2015年 3月	○	博論

明清小说对日本江戸读本小说的影响 (明清小説から日本江戸時代の読本小説への影響)	芦新蕾	中国古代文学	瀋陽師範大学	2015年5月	○	修論
比较视域下的中日“妖怪”与“妖怪学”研究 (比較視座における日中「妖怪」及び「妖怪学」研究)	王鑫	日本文学	同上	2015年10月	○	博論
《耳袋》中的妖怪：关于江戸民俗系妖怪的考察 (『耳袋』における妖怪：江戸民俗系妖怪に関する一考察)	柏氷	日本社会文化	同上	2016年5月	×	修論
井上圓了の妖怪学及启蒙思想 (井上円了の妖怪学とその啓蒙思想)	職文芳	外国言語学及び応用言語学	東華大学	2016年12月	×	修論
关于《雨月物語》的男性批判：以《吉備津之釜》为例 (『雨月物語』における男性批判：「吉備津の釜」を中心に)	郭程程	日本文学	同上	2017年3月	×	修論
《雨月物語》中的“大丈夫”形象 (『雨月物語』における「ますらお」像)	唱怡	日本文学	北京外国語大学	2018年3月	×	修論
日本合同文化与中国龟崇拜 (日本の河童文学と中国の亀崇拝)	李江龍	日本文学	貴州大学	2018年6月	○	修論
关于《雨月物語》《春雨物語》中的“信” (『雨月物語』『春雨物語』における「信」について)	崔亜蒙	日本文学	吉林大学	2018年6月	×	修論
中日传统妖怪形象比較探究 (日中における伝統的な妖怪のイメージの比較探究)	朱井井	外国哲学	延辺大学	2019年5月	○	修論
周作人与柳田国男的比较研究：基于“鬼怪思想”的视角 (周作人と柳田国男との比較研究：「鬼怪思想」の視座から)	段奥曼	日本文学	曲阜師範大学	2019年6月	○	修論

表2の論文の特徴として目立つのが、日本と中国の比較研究において、中国文学から江戸怪異小説へのさまざまな影響を強調する傾向である。例えば、李江龍の修士論文『日本の河童文学と中国の亀崇拝』は、中国の亀文化による江戸時代の河童のイメージとその変化への影響論が展開されている。博士論文の場合、勾艶軍の『日本近世小説観についての研究』は「日本近世における小説

観は中国の古代文学理論の深い影響を受けた」と主張している。岳遠坤の博士論文『上田秋成文学と晩明文芸思潮』では、明代の王陽明（1472～1529）が起こした儒教一派の思想である陽明学の、上田秋成の文学創作への影響が論じられている。『雨月物語』と上田秋成についての研究も多く見られ、中国での上田秋成に関する研究現状を総合的に述べる論文もある<sup>18</sup>。

江戸怪異小説についての研究成果は、修士論文と博士論文以外に、学術誌に発表された論文も数点ある。例えば、藤田祐賢と王枝忠の『『聊齋志異』の一考察：日本文学との関係をめぐって』、呉豔の「日本近世の怪異文学における中国の志怪伝奇の変容：『御伽婢子』を例に」、藩静恵の「上田秋成の翻案小説の特徴について：『菊花の約』の分析を通じて」が挙げられる<sup>19</sup>。王晓平の「翻案と改作：江戸時代における十三篇の翻案小説をめぐって」<sup>20</sup>は、都賀庭鐘（1718～1794）によって書かれた『英草紙』から2篇、『繁野話』と『雨月物語』から各1篇、雲府観天歩（寛政～享和頃）の『棧道物語』、司馬芝叟（1760?～1808?）の長話『売油郎』など、合わせて13篇の小説の梗概を紹介しながら、明清小説と比較研究するものである。これも明清通俗小説の深い影響を受けたことを前提にして、江戸怪異小説を分析している。

江戸怪異小説に関する著書も数点ある。王新福の『夢幻のような：日本妖怪奇譚』<sup>21</sup>は、日本の妖怪文化と江戸怪異小説を紹介しながら、妖怪文化と物語の関係論を展開したものである。因みに、妖怪文化と言え、王鑫の「日本の妖怪についての研究」<sup>22</sup>のような日本の妖怪文化の研究動向を述べる論文もある。また、妖怪たちが現代に至るまで、どのように受容されてきたのかを論説する著書も出てきた。周英の『怪談：日本のアニメにおける伝統的な妖怪』<sup>23</sup>、肖霞

18 孔祥恵《上田秋成研究綜述》、《文史月刊（学术）》2012年第11期、63頁。

19 藤田祐賢、王枝忠《『聊齋志異』的一个側面：它和日本文学的关系》、《北方民族大学学报》1990年第3期、29～38頁。呉艳《中国志怪传奇在日本近世怪异文学中的形变：以〈御伽婢子〉为例》、《河北大学学报》2012年第6期、25～31頁。藩静恵《通过〈菊花之约〉浅析上田秋成的“翻案”小说特征》、《日语教育与日本学》、2019年第1期、133～141頁。

20 王晓平《仿构与翻新：江戸时代翻案的话本小说十三篇》、《明清小说研究》、1993年第3期、162～178頁。

21 王新福《宛若梦幻：日本妖怪奇譚》、西安：陕西人民出版社、2013年。

22 王鑫《日本“妖怪”研究的历史回顾》、林美茂、郭连友（编）《日本哲学与思想研究2016》、北京：中央编译出版社、2017年、122～132頁。

23 周英《怪谈：日本动漫中的传统妖怪》、北京：北京传媒大学出版社、2017年。

の『日本現代女性文学の主題表現と価値選択方向』第1章の山姥の現代受容についての分析<sup>24</sup>はまさにそれに当たる。

日本文学に関する著書の中で、江戸怪異小説に触れているものもある。例えば、謝六逸の『日本の文学』<sup>25</sup>の第3編「小説」では、草双紙、読本、及び上田秋成、山東京伝(1761～1816)らの小説家を通して江戸時代の多種多彩な小説ジャンルが紹介されている。また、李京美の『伝奇の中に生きている女性たち』<sup>26</sup>は、韓国、日本、中国の怪異小説における女性のイメージを比較するもので、その第4章と第5章では、江戸怪異小説は『剪灯新話』『剪灯余話』を翻案することが多いことを指摘し、『御伽婢子』の「牡丹灯籠」と『剪灯新話』の「牡丹灯籠」による具体的な比較を通じて、両方の共通点と相違点を表にし、それらの小説における女性像の変化を論じている。

上記の研究成果は、比較研究が主である。なぜ中国の研究者は比較研究に拘泥するのか。管見では、二つの理由がある。一つ目は、江戸怪異小説に関する資料が足りないことである。特に研究に必要な関連資料が不足しており、江戸

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24 肖霞《日本現代女性文学の主題表达与价值取向》、济南：山东人民出版社、2016年。著者は、日本の妖怪の中で山姥が女性と母性を象徴することと、現代日本の女性作家たちが、山姥をモチーフにして多種多彩な女性像を描き出していることを指摘している。不幸を被ったり不公平な扱いを受けたりして、社会に見捨てられる女性のイメージが強い一方、山姥を現代の女性のイメージキャラクターと見なす作品や女性作家も少なくない。周囲に影響されず、自分のやり方を貫き、独立と自由自在を求める女性像である。山姥は、また、女性の性欲と子供を産む能力を持つ「大地の母」や、妖艶な美を持つ巫女のような存在でもありうると、著者は述べている。

25 謝六逸《日本文学》、上海：商务印书馆、1931年。

26 李京美《那些活在传奇中的女子》、北京：北京燕山出版社、2004年。その他、江戸怪異小説と明清小説の比較研究をしているものとして、严绍璁《中日古代文学交流史稿》(福州：福建教育出版社、2016年)の第8章第2節と第3節は、明清小説と江戸時代の仮名草子及び読本を比較研究している。嚴紹璁、王晓平《中国文学在日本》(广州：花城出版社、1990年)の第3章では、江戸時代の小説と明清小説の比較研究に触れている。钱林森、周宁、王晓平(合著)《中外文学交流史 中国-日本卷》(济南：山东教育出版社、2015年)の第7章は、江戸時代の読本はどのように明清小説を受容したかを論じている。吴伟明(編)『中国小说与传说在日本的传播与再创』〔中国小説と伝説の日本での受容と翻案〕(上海：上海交通大学出版社、2018年)は、日本近世小説・妖怪文化と中国文化・文学の相互関係を論じている。また、江戸怪異小説を含め、日中の小説の比較研究には、马兴国《中国古典小说与日本文学》〔中国古典小説と日本文学〕(沈阳：辽宁教育出版社、1993年)がある。

怪異小説を研究するのが難しい。そもそも江戸怪異小説はくずし字で書かれたものが多く、中国人にとって読みづらいのだが、翻刻した上、中国語に訳されている黄表紙、百物語などの江戸怪異小説は本当に少ない。関連訳本もあるが、それはほとんど一般向けのベストセラー小説や漫画のようなもので、研究に適しているとはいいがたい。

二つ目の理由は、中国人研究者が、日本文学の中に自国の文学や文化を読み取りやすいことにある。両国の文学交流の歴史が深く、そして密接な関係を持っていることを考えれば当然のことかもしれない。ただし、ストーリー構造の要素や主人公のイメージなど、相違点の指摘と、その差が生じる理由のみを分析し内容面の比較に留まることが多く、歴史及び文化の視点からその理由を十分に考慮した研究は少ない。

## 展 望

江戸時代は日中文学交流の歴史上、重要な時期と言える。日本は二百年に及ぶ鎖国政策を実施していたものの、長崎を窓口として、日中の貿易と文学交流は続いていた。しかし、中国では、怪異小説を含む江戸時代の文学に関する研究は不足している。また、江戸時代の文学は中国文学からの影響を受けたことを主張する傾向が強く、江戸時代の文学の特徴と独自の発展を論じるものが非常に少ない。これは、江戸時代の文学への認識と理解が中国人研究者に不足していることを表している。このままでは、江戸時代の文学が中国文学からの影響を受けたことを主張する傾向が強まるだけで、未来の関連研究を多角的に推進することは難しい。

今後、江戸怪異小説の研究を進めるためには、図書館をはじめとして、より多くの関連資料が必須である。それに加えて、現在の中国の大学でよく使われ

ている東洋文学史や日本文学史の教材<sup>27</sup>では、江戸文学について概略的に述べられているのみで、その経緯や内容に関する専門的な解説が不十分であり、生徒たちに深い印象を与えにくい。大学の教育では、江戸文学について、より一層詳しく、且つ全体的に解説しなければならないと考えている。

## Researching the Mystery Novels of the Edo Period in China

LI Jieling\*

This paper examines the present situation and perspective of research in China on Edo-period mystery novels. In China, these studies do not fit the current guiding ideology of “opposing superstition, promoting science” and, furthermore, there is a lack of original material necessary for academic research. In addition, these novels were written in the cursive style common to the Edo period and are difficult to understand

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27 東洋文学史については郁龙余《东方文学史》（北京：北京大学出版社、2004年）などがある。日本文学史については、谢六逸《日本文学史》（上海：上海书店出版社、1929年）、王长新《日本文学史》（北京：外语教学与研究出版社、1982年）、吕元明《日本文学史》（长春：吉林人民出版社、1987年）、雷石榆《日本文学简史》（石家庄：河北教育出版社、1992年）、张如意（编）《日本文学史》（保定：河北大学出版社、2004年）、唐月梅《日本文学》（上海：上海三联书店、2006年）、李光泽（主编）《日本文学史》（大连：大连理工大学出版社、2007年）、张龙妹・曲莉《日本文学史》（北京：高等教育出版社、2008年）、李先端（编）《日本文学简史》（天津：南开大学出版社、2008年）、高鹏飞（编）《日本文学史》（苏州：苏州大学出版社、2011年）などがある。いずれも江戸時代の文学への解説は短い。例えば、王長新の『日本文学史』には、「近世の文学」という章があるが、近世の小説では、井原西鶴（1642～1693）の浮世草子を紹介し、洒落本、滑稽本及び人情本に少し言及しているのみである。張如意の『日本文学史』は河北大学教材出版基金の助成を受け、日本語で書かれた教科書で、第4章「近世の文学」は、江戸時代の漢詩、和歌、仮名草子等をそれぞれ簡潔に紹介しているが、洒落本、滑稽本及び人情本の意味は300文字程度で解説するのみである。唐月梅の『日本文学』は、室町時代と江戸時代の文学を合わせて、3頁以内の概説を加えている。江戸時代の文学のみを専門的に取り上げる中国語の教科書は、現時点では見つかっていない。

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for Chinese researchers. This is why, aside from some postgraduate theses, there has been little published on these novels, and consequently it is postgraduate students who are doing much of the research on this genre. Many of these studies focus on the study of comparative literature between Japan and China.

**Keywords:** China, Edo Period, mystery novels, young scholars



## ベトナムにおける日本研究 ——東北アジア研究所の事例——

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本稿は、ベトナムと日本が外交関係を正式に結んだ1973年以降のベトナムにおける日本研究史について検討したものである。日本研究を専門に行う国家機関として初めて設立された、ベトナム社会科学アカデミー附属東北アジア研究所を事例に挙げ、日本研究の著書・雑誌・論文の内容や分野、研究方法などの考察を行う。ベトナムにおける日本研究分野の拡大と発展の変化を捉えるとともに、今後の課題についても明らかにする。

キーワード：ベトナム、日本研究、東北アジア研究所

### 1. ベトナムにおける日本研究の概観

1973年9月21日、ベトナムと日本は正式に外交関係を結び、ベトナムにおける日本研究分野は発展に向かって歩み始めた。しかし、ベトナムにおける日本研究が実質的に発展したのは、1990年代初頭に日本の対ベトナム政府開発援助（ODA）が再開されて以降のことである。

ベトナム最初の日本研究機関であるベトナム社会科学アカデミー（当時の名称は歴史・地理・文学研究班）は、1953年12月2日にベトナム北部のヴィエト・バック地方で設立された。1963年に当時の『歴史研究雑誌』に、グエン・ヒュー・トゥイ研究員による「第2次世界大戦後の日本の労働運動」と題した研

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究論文が初めて掲載された<sup>1</sup>。また、ベトナム経済研究所の『経済研究報告書』には、レー・ヴァン・サン研究員による「第2次世界大戦後の日本経済成長」に関する研究論文が、1968年、1969年、1970年の3年に亘り連続して掲載された<sup>2</sup>。

1973年に当時のベトナム民主共和国と日本が外交関係を樹立した後、ベトナム人の日本への関心はより一層高まった。ベトナム人の歴史研究者、文学研究者、経済研究者は、世界史における日本の歴史、世界文学における日本の文学、世界経済の発展における日本の経済事情などについて研究を開始した。

歴史研究所、経済研究所、アジア太平洋研究所（その後、アジア太平洋研究所は東北アジア研究所、東南アジア研究所、中国研究所の三つに分割）は、ベトナム政府に直属する国立研究機関として、初めて日本研究に注目した。日本に関する当時の有名な著書として、『日本経済・高度成長の段階』（レー・ヴァン・サン著、経済研究所出版、1988年）<sup>3</sup>、『桜と電化製品：日本文化の象徴』（ヒュー・ゴック著、文化出版社、1989年）<sup>4</sup>、『ファン・ボイ・チャウとドン・ズー運動』（チュオン・タウ著、歴史研究所、1990年）<sup>5</sup>、『経済大国・日本の歩んできた道』（レー・ヴァン・サン、リュウ・ゴック・チン共著、社会科学出版社、1991年）<sup>6</sup>、『近代日本』（ヴィン・シン著、ホーチミン市出版社、1991年）<sup>7</sup>などが挙げられる。当時、ほとんどの日本研究は、日本の経済成長や明治維新の政治的・社会的構造改革に着目していた。

1993年に、ベトナム社会科学アカデミー附属の日本研究センター、ハノイ国家大学附属人文社会科学大学の東洋学部および日本学科、ホーチミン市国家大学附属人文社会科学大学の東洋学部などの研究教育機関が誕生したことによ

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1 本文中の文献の和文タイトルは、本稿の著者による翻訳である。原語であるベトナム語の著者名、タイトル等はその都度脚注に記す。Nguyễn Hữu Thuý, “Phong trào công nhân Nhật Bản từ sau Chiến tranh Thế giới lần thứ hai,” in *Nghiên cứu lịch sử* 53, 1963, tr.25-38.

2 Lê Văn Sang, *Báo cáo nghiên cứu kinh tế “Tăng trưởng kinh tế Nhật Bản sau chiến tranh Thế giới thứ hai”*, Viện Kinh tế Việt Nam, 1968, 1969, 1970.

3 Lê Văn Sang, *Kinh tế Nhật Bản giai đoạn thần kỳ*, Viện Kinh tế thế giới, 1988.

4 Hữu Ngọc, *Hoa anh đào và điện tử*, Văn hoá, 1989.

5 Chương Thâu, *Phan Bội Châu toàn tập*, Thuận Hoá, 1990.

6 Lê Văn Sang, Lưu Ngọc Trịnh, *Nhật Bản đường đi tới một siêu cường kinh tế*, Khoa học xã hội (KHXH), 1991.

7 Vĩnh Sinh, *Nhật Bản cận đại*, Nxb. TP. Hồ Chí Minh, 1991.

り、ベトナムにおける日本研究は急速に発展し始めた。その後現在に至るまで25年以上の歩みの中で、ベトナムにおける日本研究分野は多くの研究者を輩出し、多種多様な日本研究の成果を生み出していった。

## 2. ベトナム社会科学アカデミー附属東北アジア研究所における日本研究

### (1) ベトナム社会科学アカデミー附属東北アジア研究所の誕生と現在の状況

東北アジア研究所（当時の名称は日本研究センター）は、1993年9月13日付の首相決定第466号に基づき設立され、現在まで27年間の道のりを歩んできた。

設立当初、日本研究センターに在籍した研究員はわずか10名に過ぎなかった。その後、2004年に同センターは東北アジア研究所へと昇格した。研究対象国や研究分野が拡大され、日本だけではなく、韓国、北朝鮮、モンゴルや台湾なども研究することとなった。一方、日本は東北アジア研究所が最も重要視する研究対象国と位置づけられ、現在に至っている。

東北アジア研究所には、四つの任務がある。第一は、東北アジアの国と地域の基本的な課題と時事問題について研究することである。第二には、ベトナム政府が政策を立案するにあたり科学的な根拠を提供することである。第三は、東北アジアの国と地域に関する知識をベトナムに普及させること、第四は、東北アジア研究所の研究員が各大学で講義を行い、東北アジア研究者の人材育成事業に貢献することである。

現在、東北アジア研究所には研究員とスタッフ計47名が在籍している。この中で、教授・上級研究員が2名、博士号を取得した研究員が14名、博士課程在学中の研究員が2名、修士号を取得した研究員が20名、そのほかは管理スタッフである。研究員の専門分野は、日本学をはじめ、韓国学、経済学、政治・安全保障や国際関係、歴史、宗教学、言語学、社会学など多岐にわたっている。ほとんどの研究員は英語、日本語、韓国語、中国語、ロシア語のいずれかの外国語に堪能である。このうち日本研究を行っている研究員は24名おり、研究所の研究員の約2分の1を占めている。

東北アジア研究所には、日本研究センター、韓国・北朝鮮研究センター、台湾・モンゴル研究センターの三つの研究センターがある。また、地域全体の課題に関する研究室も三つある。経済・国際統合研究室、政治・安全保障研究室と文化・社会研究室である。そのほかに、『東北アジア研究雑誌』編集室、図書室・国際交流室と総務室がある。

## (2) 研究業績

東北アジア研究所が設立されてから約30年間に、日本に関する約120の著書や研究雑誌300号、2000本以上の研究論文が出版された。東北アジア研究所の研究員による代表的な著書として、以下のものが挙げられる。

日本研究の方法についての本は、『日本研究の方法論及び経験』（ズオン・フー・ヒェップ著、社会科学出版社、1995年）<sup>8</sup>や『みる・きく・しらべる・かく・かんがえる：対話としての質的研究』（伊藤哲司著、ゴ・フォン・ラン訳、ハノイ国家大学出版社、2014年）<sup>9</sup>などがある。

ベトナムにおける日本の政治・社会に関する研究の第一人者であり、東北アジア研究所の初代日本研究センター長を務めたズオン・フー・ヒェップ教授は、『日本の行政システム』（社会科学出版社、1996年）<sup>10</sup>、『日本とベトナムにおける社会福祉の課題』（グエン・ズイ・ズンとの共著、社会科学出版社、1996年）<sup>11</sup>や『1945年から現在までの日本における市場経済システム下の富裕層と貧困層の区分について』（国家政治出版社、1999年）<sup>12</sup>などをまとめた。なお、ヒェップ教授は日本研究への顕著な貢献が認められ、日本政府より「令和2年春の叙勲」にて旭日中綬章を授与された。

日本の外交関係については、1990年代後半から2000年代初めにかけて、ゴ・スアン・ビン教授が、『日アセアン関係』（社会科学出版社、1999年）<sup>13</sup>、『越日関係25年（1973年～1998年）』（ズオン・フー・ヒェップ、チャン・アイン・フォンとの共編、社会科学出版社、1999年）<sup>14</sup>、『冷戦後の日本における外交政策』（社会科学

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8 Dương Phú Hiệp, *Dương Phú Hiệp Chủ Tìm hiểu kinh nghiệm và phương pháp nghiên cứu Nhật Bản*, KHXH, 1995.

9 Ito Tetsuji, *Quan sát, lắng nghe, tìm hiểu, ghi chép và suy ngẫm: Nghiên cứu định tính thông qua đối thoại*, ĐHQGHN, 2014.

10 Dương Phú Hiệp, *Tìm hiểu nền hành chính Nhật Bản hiện nay*, KHXH, 1996.

11 Dương Phú Hiệp, *Một số vấn đề phúc lợi của Nhật Bản và Việt Nam*, KHXH, 1996.

12 Dương Phú Hiệp, *Phân hóa giàu nghèo trong nền kinh tế thị trường Nhật Bản từ 1945 đến nay*, Chính trị quốc gia, 1999.

13 Ngô Xuân Bình, *Quan hệ Nhật Bản - ASEAN*, KHXH, 1999.

14 Dương Phú Hiệp, Ngô Xuân Bình, Trần Anh Phương, *25 năm quan hệ Việt Nam - Nhật Bản (1973-1998)*, KHXH, 1999.

出版社、2000 年)<sup>15</sup>などの著書を記した。

一方、越日関係の研究を執筆するにあたり、各執筆者が単に過去の経緯と現状を分析するのみならず、将来の越日関係の展望と分析の視点を加えるようになったことは、新たな変化のひとつと理解される。加えて、昨今、日本の社会構造や越日間の二国間関係のほかに、日本の外交政策と、周辺諸国との関わりから捉えられる政策変化についての分析も注目されるようになった。具体的には、以下の著書が挙げられる。『越日戦略的パートナーシップの構築：その内容と道のり』（チャン・クアン・ミン、ファム・クイ・ロン共著、百科事典出版社、2011 年）<sup>16</sup>、『2011 年から 2020 年までの東北アジア地域における重要課題に対する各国の対応』（グエン・スアン・タン、チャン・クアン・ミン共著、社会科学出版社、2013 年）<sup>17</sup>、『中国の台頭と米国のアジア・太平洋地域への関与強化に直面する東北アジア地域の安全保障』（ホアン・ミン・ハン編、社会科学出版社、2015 年）<sup>18</sup>、『メコンサプリージョンに対する東北アジア各国の関与政策』（グエン・ティ・タム編、社会科学出版社、2015 年）<sup>19</sup>などである。

日本経済に関しては、1990 年代から 2000 年まで日本経済発展の成功および日本政府の工業政策、貿易政策やグローバル化の背景における日本経済の構造改革などについて研究が深まった。代表的な著書として、『比較優位理論：1955 年～1990 年における日本の商・工業政策への適用』（チャン・クアン・ミン著、社会科学出版社、2000 年）<sup>20</sup>、『1990 年代の日越経済関係の状況と展望』（ヴー・ヴ

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15 Ngô Xuân Bình, *Chính sách đối ngoại của Nhật Bản thời kỳ sau Chiến tranh Lạnh*, KHXH, 2000.

16 Trần Quang Minh, Phạm Quý Long, *Xây dựng đối tác chiến lược Việt Nam - Nhật Bản: Nội dung và lộ trình*, Từ điển Bách Khoa, 2011.

17 Nguyễn Xuân Thắng, Trần Quang Minh, *Chiến lược, chính sách của các quốc gia và vùng lãnh thổ Đông Bắc Á về các vấn đề nổi bật của khu vực giai đoạn 2011-2020*, KHXH, 2013.

18 Hoàng Minh Hằng, *An ninh Đông Bắc Á trước sự trỗi dậy của Trung Quốc và sự gia tăng can dự Châu Á của Hoa Kỳ*, KHXH, 2015.

19 Nguyễn Thị Thắm, *Sự can dự của các nước Đông Bắc Á vào tiểu vùng sông Mê Kông*, KHXH, 2015.

20 Trần Quang Minh, *Lý thuyết về lợi thế so sánh: sự vận dụng trong chính sách công nghiệp và thương mại của Nhật Bản 1955-1990*, KHXH, 2000.

ァン・ハー著、社会科学出版社、2000年)<sup>21</sup>、『グローバル化における日本経済の構造改革』（ヴー・ヴァン・ハー編、社会科学出版社、2003年)<sup>22</sup>などが挙げられる。

現在は、国際的な経済統合や日本の経済改革により関心が集まり、『CPTPP協定の形成と東北アジア各国に対する影響』（ズオン・ミン・トゥアン編、社会科学出版社、2016年)<sup>23</sup>、『日本のアベノミクス改革』（ファム・クイ・ロン編、社会科学出版社、2017年)<sup>24</sup>などの著書が出ている。また、『東アジア地域経済統合における日本の役割』（社会科学出版社、2020年)<sup>25</sup>と題する博士論文を出版したド・ティ・アインをはじめとして、若手研究員も台頭している。

日本の歴史・文化についての著書は、『日本文化の発展史』（ホー・ホアン・ホア編、社会科学出版社、2001年)<sup>26</sup>、『ベトナム北部村落の郷約と日本の関東地方における村の規定』（ヴー・ズイ・メン、ホアン・ミン・ロイ共著、社会科学出版社、2001年)<sup>27</sup>、『日本の伝統工芸品産業の保存と開発課題』（ホー・ホアン・ホア編、社会科学出版社、2004年)<sup>28</sup>などが挙げられる。そのほかにも、東北アジア研究所が各研究員の研究論文を集めた特集号『東北アジア研究：文化・社会・環境』のシリーズは、2014年から毎年出版されている<sup>29</sup>。また、国際シンポジウムの開催に合わせて、『ベトナムと日本との交流における歴史、社会、文化の諸問題』（チャン・クアン・ミン、ゴ・フォン・ラン共編、ハノイ国家大学出版社、2015年)<sup>30</sup>

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21 Vũ Văn Hà, *Quan hệ kinh tế Việt Nam - Nhật Bản trong những năm 1990 và triển vọng*, KHXH, 2000.

22 Vũ Văn Hà, *Điều chỉnh cơ cấu kinh tế Nhật Bản trong bối cảnh toàn cầu hóa*, KHXH, 2003.

23 Dương Minh Tuấn, *Sự hình thành Hiệp định Đối tác Xuyên Thái Bình Dương và tác động đối với các nước Đông Bắc Á*, KHXH, 2016.

24 Phạm Quý Long, *Cải cách Abenomics ở Nhật Bản*, KHXH, 2017.

25 Đỗ Thị Ánh, *Vai trò của Nhật Bản trong tiến trình liên kết kinh tế Đông Á*, KHXH, 2020.

26 Hồ Hoàng Hoa, *Văn hóa Nhật những chặng đường phát triển*, KHXH, 2001.

27 Vũ Duy Mền, Hoàng Minh Lợi, *Hương ước làng xã Bắc Bộ Việt Nam với luật làng Kanto Nhật Bản*, Viện Sử học, 2001.

28 Hồ Hoàng Hoa, *Vấn đề bảo tồn và phát triển nghề thủ công truyền thống ở Nhật Bản*, KHXH, 2004.

29 *Nghiên cứu Đông Bắc Á: Văn hóa - Xã hội - Môi trường*, Nxb.ĐHGQ Hà Nội, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017.

30 Trần Quang Minh, Ngô Hương Lan, *Các vấn đề lịch sử - văn hóa - xã hội trong giao lưu Việt Nam - Nhật Bản*, Đại học Quốc gia Hà Nội, 2015.

などの紀要も出版されている。

図1からわかる通り、東北アジア研究所の研究者が執筆した本の中で最も多くを占めているのは、日本経済や日本のODAに関する本である（30%）。それに続くのは、日本の政治・社会（24%）、日越関係を含めた日本の外交関係（22%）、日本の歴史・文化・宗教（21%）に関する研究書である。すなわち、東北アジア研究所においては上記の四つの研究分野が重視されていると言える。一方、日本研究の手法についての本は少なく、全体のわずか3%に止まっている。

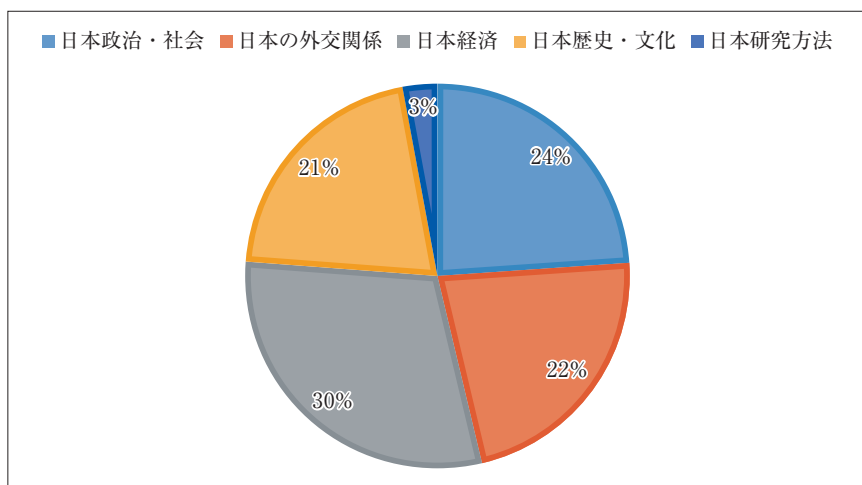


図1 東北アジア研究所の研究者による分野別の日本研究書（1993年～2018年）

日本研究に関する論文については、筆者の調査によると、東北アジア研究所の学術誌である『東北アジア研究雑誌』（*Nghiên cứu Nhật Bản & Đông Bắc Á*）に1995年から2015年3月までの間に掲載された日本に関する論文は1567本で、このうち、約3分の1にあたる439本が日本の文化・歴史についての論文となっている（図2）。

日本の歴史・文化に関する論文についての具体的な内訳は図3のとおりである。

図3によれば、歴史に関する論文が最も多く全体の22.77%を占めている。続いて、教育、生活文化・習慣に関する論文が17.08%を占め、文学に関する論文が15.48%、言語に関する論文が13.21%、思想、法律、宗教に関する論文が11.38

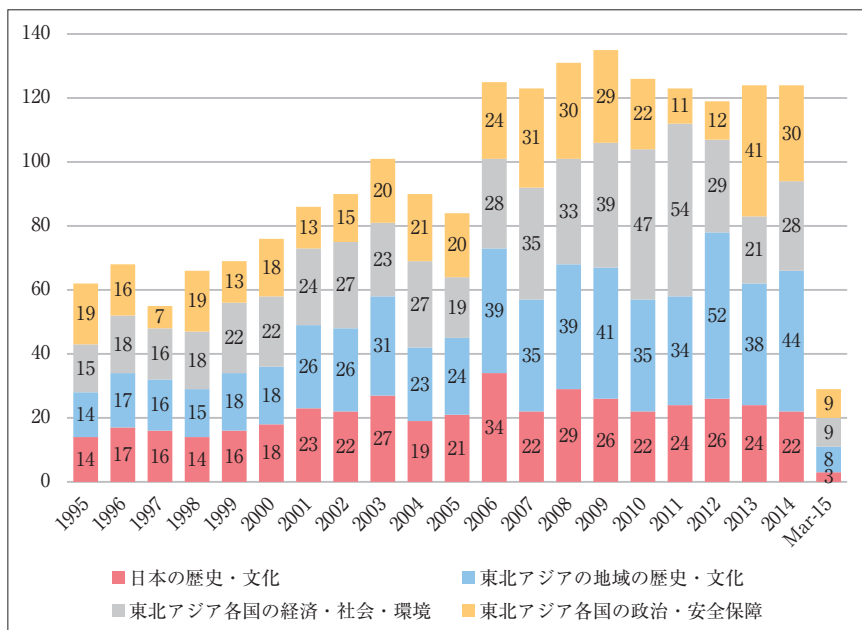


図2 『東北アジア研究雑誌』に掲載された日本の歴史・文化に関する原稿数（単位：本）

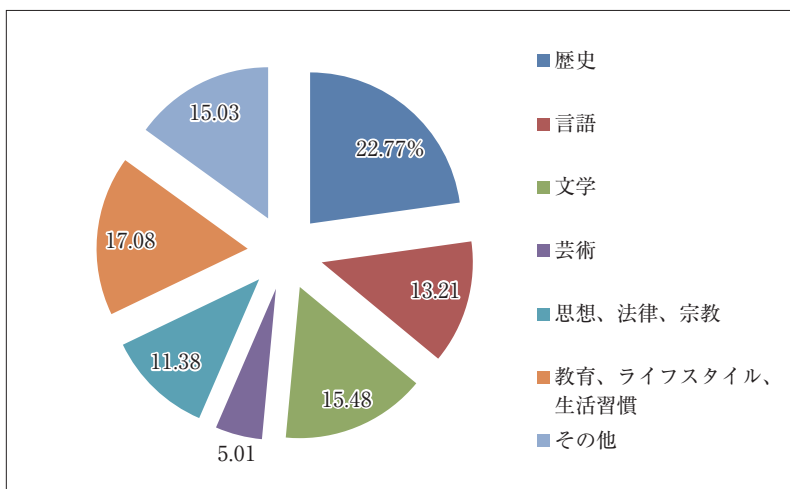


図3 日本の歴史・文化に関する論文の内訳



％、最後に芸術に関する論文が5.01％となっている。「その他」は、日越関係全般、文化交流、日本研究概観などに関する論文である。なお、『東北アジア研究雑誌』に掲載されたベトナム全国の日本研究者による論文のうち、東北アジア研究所の研究員による論文はその30％以上を占めている。

### 3. ベトナムにおける日本研究の課題——東北アジア研究所のケース

このように、東北アジア研究所の事例から考察すると、ベトナムでは、この30年近くの間に日本研究が急速に発展してきたことがわかる。

まず、研究員の数は当初の10名未満から、現在までに3～4倍余り増加した。これは東北アジア研究所の場合に限るものの、ベトナム全国の日本研究者の数を見ても、数百名に増加している。

日本研究の内容も、明治維新、日本労働運動や高度経済成長についての研究から、より範囲が拡大され、現在は歴史、文化、宗教、政治・安全保障、外交関係、ソフトパワー、経済社会、政党政治など、日本に関してあらゆる分野をカバーしている。また、それぞれの研究は日本においてすでに起こった問題を考察し、その問題を解決した日本の経験を学び、ベトナム政府に提案する手法から、課題の中期的予測（5年～10年）や長期的予測（10年～20年）を行う方法に変化してきた。さらに、文化産業、ソフトパワー、Society5.0社会やIoT産業、日本の再生エネルギー開発モデルなど、ホットな話題についての研究も多くなった。

政府に直属する諮問研究機関として、東北アジア研究所は、日本政府の政策を研究するだけではなく、日本の文化、日本人の価値観やコミュニケーションパターンなど、基本的な文化研究も行っている。これらの研究が広がり、また深まることにより、ベトナム人の日本についての知識や日本人への理解を高めることに貢献するだろう。

一方、30年に亘るベトナムにおける日本研究は、今、新たな課題にも直面している。

第一の課題は、ベトナム人研究者の日本語能力がまだ高くないことである。第三世代（30代、40代）の研究者は日本語が堪能な者が増えているものの、第一世代（70歳以上）と第二世代（50歳以上）のほとんどの研究者は、ロシア語か英語を用いて日本研究を行っている。そのため、すべての世代のベトナム人の日本研究者が自分の研究成果を世界に公開し、海外の日本研究者と日本語で意

見交換して交流するには一定の困難があると言わざるを得ない。

第二の課題は、研究に対する政府の予算が非常に限られていることである。そのため、日本の経済、社会や教育などの実況を研究するにしても、ほとんどの場合、日本で現地調査を行うことができず、日本政府や関連機関の公開ウェブサイトにアクセスしてデータや資料収集を行うのに止まっている。現地調査、インタビューやアンケート調査などができず、さらに経費に限りがあるため、日本で出版された文献・雑誌等の購入も難しい。

第三の課題は、研究員の数が依然として多いとは言えず、15年間ほど、東北アジア研究所の研究員数は全体で40名程度に制限されていることである。原因は公的研究機関が自由に研究員を採用できないことにある。研究の仕事を好み、研究能力もある者は多いものの、採用にあたっての国の基準がないため、これらの者を採用できるとは限らない。

第四の課題として、東北アジア研究所の最も重要な任務はベトナム政府の政策立案を補佐することであることから、多くの研究プロジェクトは政策立案に資する日本の政治、外交関係や経済に着目していることが挙げられる。そのため、日本の歴史、文化や文学などの基本的な研究は少なく、研究分野<sup>かたよ</sup>に偏りがあると言わざるを得ない。これは、国家大学の人文社会科学大学をはじめとする大学での日本研究とは異なっており、大学の日本研究は歴史の研究に集中している。その結果、「経済研究が強いのは研究所、歴史研究が強いのは大学」という傾向に陥りやすいが、本来は研究所・大学共に研究分野のバランスを取ることが望ましいだろう。

最後に、第五の課題は、現在ベトナムにおける各日本研究機関間の交流が盛んに行われておらず、共同研究や共催セミナーなどの学術交流が非常に少ないことである。また、ベトナムでは、ベトナム人研究者による日本研究学会もまだ設立されておらず、日本研究関連で言えば、「日本語教師会」や2018年に設立された「日本語教育研究学会」しかない。

これらの課題は、ベトナム社会科学アカデミー附属東北アジア研究所のみが解決できる課題ではなく、ベトナム全国の日本研究機関が取り組むべき課題とも言える。ベトナム政府の理解と支援を得て、第一世代と第二世代のベトナム人の日本研究者の知見と経験を基に、現在の第三世代の日本研究者の力を結集し、近い将来、上記の課題を解決して、ベトナムにおける日本研究が一層発展・深化するものと期待される。

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## Japanese Studies in Vietnam: A Case Study of the Institute for Northeast Asian Studies

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This paper explores the situation of Japanese studies in Vietnam from when the two countries officially established diplomatic relations (1973) up to now, through a case study of the Institute for Northeast

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Asian Studies, Vietnam Academy of Social Sciences. The paper considers the development of researchers, the expansion of Japanese studies, the improvements in research methods, and the structure of the content of books and articles on Japanese studies. It also considers the rapid development of Japanese studies in Vietnam, as well as pointing out problems and difficulties which are yet to be dealt with.

**Keywords:** Vietnam, Japanese studies, Institute for Northeast Asian Studies

## 近年の中国における日本書の翻訳出版 および読書傾向について

潘 世聖\*

小稿では近年の中国における日本書翻訳出版の状況について考える。1980年代末期に刊行された江蘇人民出版社の「海外中国研究叢書」は、学術文化界に大きな衝撃を与えるものであった。2009年に始まった日中共同プロジェクト「現代日本紹介図書シリーズ翻訳出版」は、10年間で111点を翻訳刊行した。近年の翻訳出版においては、日本の社会、歴史、思想文化を広く体系的に扱うことに重点が置かれ、読者は日本書をとおして、自国を再考し、普遍的価値観などの根源的な問題を認識する傾向が見られる。

キーワード：中国、日本書、翻訳出版、読書傾向、日本書ブーム

中国の大学で日本文学の教育研究に携わる者として、日頃から日本書の翻訳出版およびその読書傾向に関心を持ち、時には微力ながらも翻訳を試み、2015年に柄谷行人『哲学の起源』（《哲学的起源》、北京：中央編訳出版社）、2020年に藤井省三『魯迅 東アジアを生きる文学』（《魯迅的都市漫游：东亚视域下的鲁迅言说》、北京：新星出版社）などの中国語訳書を刊行した。今回は、きわめて個人的かつ感覚的な視点ではあるが、自分自身の体験を踏まえて、近年の中国における翻訳出版の状況およびそれに対する中国読書界の傾向を見てみたいと思う。

先にやや昔の話をさせていただく。現代中国の日本書の翻訳出版の大きな転機は、いうまでもなく鄧小平時代の1970年代末からの「改革開放」に伴うもの

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だった。当時、我々の世代はちょうど高校を出て大学に入ろうとする時期で、そこから激しい時代的变化が一連の波のように押し寄せてきたのを、鮮明に覚えている。1980年代後期、社会人になって間もない頃、初めて友人に勧められて読んだ日本の学術書の中国語訳は、いわゆる「中国の外から中国をみる」という発想から翻訳刊行されたシリーズ「海外中国研究叢書」（南京：江蘇人民出版社）だった。1988年、その第1冊目であるギルバート・ロズマン（当時米国プリンストン大学教授）監修の《中国的现代化》（中国の現代化）<sup>1</sup>が出版され、読書界の大きな注目を受けた。1990年代になると、さらに大ブレイクして、この叢書の評価は一層上がった。筆者の確認したところ、叢書は、1988年から現在まで、合計197点の研究書を翻訳刊行している。1988～2000年の間に刊行したものが44点で、その内訳をみれば、英国1、ドイツ2、フランス1、オランダ1、欧州（論文集）1、北米（論文集）1を除いて、大部分はアメリカで研究する学者の書いたものだった（中国系アメリカ人研究者も相当含まれる）。21世紀からは、日本の中国研究も次々と登場し始め、シリーズ全体に占める割合も歳月の推移に伴い、増加の傾向にある。現時点では、全体197点中の19点に達し、約1割を占めている。さらに、今年2020年度に出版予定の18点中に、日本書が5点も含まれている。アメリカをはじめとする英文の世界の情況、及び中国系研究者の多さを考慮すれば、日本の研究にはかなりの強みと重みがあり、看過できないものと言える。

出版済みの日本書19点は、次のようなものである。斯波義信『宋代江南経済史の研究』（《宋代江南经济史研究》、2001年）、溝口雄三・小島毅『中国的思维世界』（日本の雑誌論文などから選んだ論文集、2006年）、浜下武志『中国近代経済史研究——清末海関財政と開港場市場圏』（《中国近代经济史研究：清末海关财政与通商口岸市场圏》、2006年）、佐藤慎一『近代中国の知識人と文明』（《近代中国的知识分子与文明》、2008年）、島田虔次『中国における近代思维の挫折』（《中国近代思维的挫折》、2008年）、松浦章『近世東アジア海域の文化交渉』（《明清时代东亚海域的文化交流》、2009年）、松浦章『清代内河水運史の研究』（《清代内河水运史研究》、2010年）、吉川忠夫『六朝精神史研究』（《六朝精神史研究》、2010年）、増田渉『西学東漸と中国事情』（《西学东渐与中国事情》、2010年）、中島楽章『明

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1 ギルバート・ロズマン『中国的现代化』、江苏人民出版社、1988年。原著は、Gilbert Rozman, *The Modernization of China*, New York : Free Press, 1981。

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今年出版予定の5点は以下の通りである。福原啓郎『魏晉政治社会史研究』（《魏晋政治社会史研究》）、岩井茂樹『中国近世財政史の研究』（《中国近世财政史研究》）、三田村泰助『宦官——側近政治の構造』（《宦官：側近政治的构造》）、大島正二『唐代の人は漢詩をどう詠んだか——中国音韻学への誘い』（《唐人如何吟诗：带你走进汉语音韵学》）及び浅野裕一『古代中国の宇宙論』（《古代中国的宇宙论》）。

学術研究、特に中国研究には、特殊な性格があり、読者の範囲も限定されている。中国における日本文化の伝播と受容の状況にそのまま当てはまりきれない部分があるかもしれない。しかし、上記の数字からわかるように、日本の中国研究が中国の学界に十分に認められ、この叢書での比重が大きくなっている傾向は十分に注目する価値があるだろう<sup>2</sup>。

高度な専門性のある学術書のほか、一般読者向けの日本の社会・歴史・文化に関する読み物も、改革開放期に入ってから、数多くの出版社から翻訳出版されてきた。これらの書物は、冊数や紙、印刷、装丁などの技術的な進歩がかなりあったが、国家間関係の情勢に大きく影響を受けたため、自由かつ多様な翻訳刊行体制が十分に確立していない。日本書の翻訳刊行は個々の刊行者・編集者に委ねられ、場当たりの散発的な印象がある。そうした状況の中、2009年から最近まで実施されてきた日中共同プロジェクト——「現代日本紹介図書シ

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2 江蘇人民出版社公式ウェブサイトを参照。[http://www.jspph.com/BookList.html?Search=@Book\\_CollectionID2=:3](http://www.jspph.com/BookList.html?Search=@Book_CollectionID2=:3)



リーズ翻訳出版」という事業は画期的であった。

この事業の発案者・主宰者である笹川平和財団は、次のように事業概要を説明している。「中国では、日本を知る手立てとなる知的情報は日本から十分提供されていない。そのため、現代日本に関する情報が恒常的に不足している。この状況を改善するために、笹川日中友好基金は、日中の専門家によって選出された現代日本を紹介する図書を中国で翻訳・出版する。笹川日中友好基金は、各分野の専門家からなる選考委員会を立ち上げ、同委員会が作成する推薦図書リストを中国側協力団体に推薦するほか、選考委員会、中国の協力団体及び出版社との連絡調整業務を担当する。中国国内における図書の翻訳・出版業務は、複数の大手出版社関係者によって構成される「現代日本図書シリーズ編集委員会」に委託する。同委員会は、翻訳者の人選、版權交渉、翻訳、編集、出版、マーケティング、宣伝、販売及び事後調査を担当する。これら一連の活動を通じて、年間 10 冊の日本語図書を翻訳・出版する」。

2009 年、日中の専門家によって構成される図書選考委員会が組織され、推薦図書リストが中国側協力団体に提示された。それを受けて、中国側の協力者である社会科学文献出版社、世界知識出版社、北京大学出版社、南京大学出版社、三聯出版社、人民文学出版社及び新星出版社の関係者からなる「現代日本図書シリーズ編集委員会」が翻訳・出版関連業務を担当し、翻訳者の人選、版權交渉、翻訳、編集、出版、宣伝、販売及び事後調査を実施することになった<sup>3</sup>。

この大型事業は、それまでの日本書の翻訳出版と明らかに異なる特色がある。即ち、日中両国民の相互理解を促進するために、中国の国民を対象に、特に現代日本の社会全般の実情を知ってもらうという目標をもって、比較的体系的に適切な日本の図書を翻訳出版していくという点である。その目的を実現するために、特に図書の選定に工夫がなされた。中国側も次のように図書選定の方針を高く評価している。「1、新しいこと。推薦図書はすべて 1990 年代以後出版したものに限る。2、各分野に亘ること。現代日本の政治、経済、思想、文化、軍事、法律などの諸分野の全面的な紹介。3、権威性。選定にあたっては作者の知名度、著作の影響力に加えて、読みやすさを重視すること。4、親和性。推薦書は中国人読者の読書趣味に適すること」<sup>4</sup>。さらに、図書選考委員会の日

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3 [https://www.spf.org/sjcff-j/projects/project\\_21419.html](https://www.spf.org/sjcff-j/projects/project_21419.html) (2020 年 7 月 15 日確認)

4 田雁《“阅读日本书系”的策划与引进》，北京：《现代出版》2014 年第 1 期，第 64 頁。



中双方の選考委員が、まずそれぞれ独自に推薦図書リストを作り、次いで双方が互いに補いあっているのが、図書の内容構成の面でバランスが取れたものになっていると言える。

日中双方から出された第1期の計45種類の推薦書目を見ると、中国側は『日本文化の歴史』（岩波書店、2000年）、『日本文化における時間と空間』（岩波書店、2007年）、『富士山と日本人』（青弓社、2002年）、『茶道の歴史』（講談社、1979年）、『戦後日本の大衆文化』（昭和堂、2000年）、『戦後マンガ50年史』（筑摩書房、1995年）など文化系のものが最も多いのに対して、日本側の委員は『日本経済史1600-2000——歴史に読む現代』（慶應義塾大学出版会、2009年）、『国債の歴史——金利に凝縮された過去と未来』（東洋経済新報社、2006年）、『財政学』（有斐閣、2007年）、『現代税制改革史——終戦からバブル崩壊まで』（東洋経済新報社、2008年）、『地方自治』（北樹出版、2007年）、『皇室制度を考える』（中央公論新社、2007年）など、現代日本社会の各分野の理解に資する経済、政治、社会系の書籍が目立つ。今考えれば、これらのものは、中国の読者にとって、それまで盛んに言われた日本文化から一歩も二歩も進んで、さらに現代日本社会の政治・経済・社会構造を直視し、理解するために、きわめて必要かつ有益なことだったと思われる。

この翻訳出版事業の実施期間は、2009～2018年のちょうど10年間で、現代日本の人文社会全般にわたって計111点の日本書を翻訳刊行し、全体の販売部数は40万部以上、1点あたりの平均販売部数は4000部に達した。5000部以上売り上げたものが30点余り、7000部以上も12点、最も売れたものは1万5000部以上でもあった。出版物の社会的反響の面においても、シリーズの規模が大きいこと、内容が多岐にわたり豊富なことなどによって、比較的良好な反響を収めることができた。中国最大の読書ポータルサイト「豆瓣（とうべん）」での口コミを見てみると、108点中101点が「推薦書」のリストに入っており、うち15点は10点満点中の8点以上の高得点を獲得し、読者から高い評価を得ている<sup>5</sup>。

実際に、読者の感想・コメントを見てみると、多くの読者は、日本の優れた書物から新しい知見を得て、これまでよりも多角的に日本を理解できるように

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5 事業委員会の中国側の主要関係者に対する聞き取り調査（2020年7月16日）によるもの。調査対象者に感謝申し上げます。

なったことが見て取れる。以下、2冊の本を例に挙げる。

尾藤正英『日本文化の歴史』（岩波書店、2000年）

「読了。日本の歴史を知るには、かなり良い一冊だ。」

「日本がなぜ日本になったかに対して、作者なりの回答を出してくれ、一読に値する。」

「薄い一冊。正文はわずか120余頁に過ぎないが、限られた言葉に深い意味合いがあり、大変に重厚なものだ（中略）長い間、多くの人は、同文同種の謬見に惑わされたり、ショービニズムに囚われたりして、日本文化を中華文化の付属品あるいは派生物と見なすということに熱中した。それらの人が日本文化の源流を全く知らないこともそうだった理由の一つであろう。（中略）この本は、普通の中国人のあまり知らない日本、想像より大きな魅力を示してくれた日本を描き出している。」

末本文美士『日本宗教史』（岩波書店、2006年）

「日本の宗教の歴史についての概説読本。言葉が簡潔明瞭で、複雑な宗教の概念をわかりやすく解説しており、読後感が極めて良い。」

「わかりやすい形で深い考えを示しており、思考を広めることに有益だ。」

「思想的に深く重厚なものがあり、構成も巧みで、日本宗教史の絶好な入門書。前半は特に優れており、日本思想の古層を探求し、古層が外来の衝撃を受けて生まれたもので、“諸神自覚”が佛教伝来の結果だったという。後半では、近世以来の宗教の各方面の様相を提示し、それが決して合理主義への収斂という一言で片づけられるものではないとする。」

つまり、このような著書を通して、読者たちは日本の文化や宗教を考える新たな視点を獲得しているのである。

この事業の実施によってもたらされた波及効果も注目に値する。まず、いくつかの出版社は事業終了後に日本、あるいは東アジア関係のシリーズを立ち上げるようになった。上海交通大学出版社の「悦読日本」シリーズ、新星出版社の「都市ブロック」、社会科学文献出版社の「中国問題・日本経験」などがそれにあたる。また、日中双方の研究者は、それぞれ別の関係書籍も世に送り出した。中国側が事業実施の直前に、『中日友好交流三十年（1978-2008）』（政治、経

済、文化教育と民間交流の3巻、社会科学文献出版社、2008年）を刊行したのに対して、日本側も『日中関係史（1972-2012）』（政治、経済、社会・文化の3巻構成、東京大学出版会、2012年）を出版した<sup>6</sup>。中国側の個人協力者も事業図書の選定作業を通じて、日本書の中国語訳、さらに中国書の日本語訳の全体状況を把握する必要性を痛感して、『汉译日文图书总书目 1719-2011』（日本書中国語翻訳総目録 1719-2011年）4巻（南京大学出版社、2015年）、『日文图书汉译出版史』（日本書中国語翻訳出版史）（南京大学出版社、2017年）を刊行した。他方、『中文图书日译总书目 1868-2016』（中国書日本語翻訳総目録）及び『中文图书日译出版史』（中国書日本語翻訳出版史）もそれぞれ今年度と来年度の出版予定となっている。そして、事業実施を通して、日中の出版社間の交流が深められることとなり、その成果の一つに、中国側の図書版權の日本への売り込みも少数ながら見られるようになった。具体的には、東京大学出版会は、南京大学出版社から2点、社会科学文献出版社から1点を、岩波書店は、上海交通大学出版社から1点の版權を取得することになったと聞いている<sup>7</sup>。しかし、シリーズの規模が大きいことから、内容も多岐にわたるため、刊行期限や訳者の力量の問題もあり、誤りや不備を指摘される等の問題があったようだ。

以上、1980年代後期及びその20年後の2009年に立ち上げられた二つの大型の翻訳シリーズから、中国の日本書翻訳の一端をのぞいてみたが、ここからは最新状況を見てみたい。

これまで、中国の日本事情は、常に両国の「政治」関係に左右されることが多かった。巨大な共同利益や長い交流の歴史などのほか、過去の不幸な歴史及びその認識、社会体制、国民感情、領土問題などの火種によって国家間関係がぎくしゃくし、悪い影響が多くの分野にまで及んでしまうことがこれまで何度もあった。幸いなことに、ここ数年、日中関係が険悪な局面から脱出し、正常な軌道に戻りつつあり、比較的安定した状態が続いていることは、多くの人の認めるところだろう。

こうした社会的背景の変化は、どのように日本書の翻訳出版に反映している

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6 《“阅读日本书系” 出版百种图书 助中国公众了解日本》、《中国新闻网》2017年10月9日、  
<http://www.chinanews.com/cul/2017/10-09/8348558.shtml>（2020年7月17日確認）

7 中国側事業主要参加者への取材調査による。2020年7月16日。

のだろうか。筆者はいくつかの日本書に注目して、その翻訳出版の内容を検討し、関係する編集者に取材調査を行い、最新の状況確認に努めた。この取材をとおして、かつてと違った日本書翻訳出版の重要な変化を感じるに至った。

編集者を取材するなかで強い印象を受けたことの一つは、日本書翻訳による日本理解の内容の変化である。取材対象者である X 社の J 氏の興味深い表現を借りると、「波や潮を追い求める前に、先に海そのものを知る」ということである。つまり、これまで漫画、アニメ、映画、ゲーム、ライトノベル、ポピュラー音楽、テレビなどの日本の流行文化（ポップカルチャー）、及び和食、着物、華道、茶道、歌舞伎、武道などの日本の伝統文化が真っ先に中国で翻訳紹介され、中国の読者に日本への理解や親近感を持つきっかけとなっていた。これが日本と日本の文化・言語に対する入口の機能を果たし、日本文化ブームも比較的長期間続いてきた。ところがここに来て、そうした流行現象の下に広がるより深い海そのものの秘密を探ってみようという動きが現れてきた、というわけである。筆者の取材に対する以下の回答には、ある種の感慨を覚える。——「結局のところ、もしより切実にこれらの現象を読み解こうとするなら、さらにいっそう体系的に日本全体を理解しなければならない。言い換えれば、矛盾するかに見え、神秘的かつ魅力的な日本文化の由来と行方を知らなければならない」<sup>8</sup>。こうした考え方を踏まえて、J 氏の勤める X 社は耳目を集めやすい大衆文化や伝統文化の類にとどまらず、若者及び一般読者を対象に、従来なら実現困難な岩波書店『日本の歴史』（岩波ジュニア新書、全 9 巻）の翻訳を企画し、2020 年 4 月から《岩波日本史》というタイトルで順次刊行が開始された。初版発行部数も、事前の市場調査などに基づいて、単巻 4 桁、セット合計 5 桁の部数とのことである。現今のコロナ禍を考えれば、かなりの部数だと言えるだろう。

このように、中国における日本書翻訳出版は、過去より一段高いレベルに入りかけていると思われる。出版社側と読者側の双方とも、かつての流行文化を主とした個々のベストセラーや特定の話題書に飛びつくことから、より深く体系的に日本の歴史文化、等身大の日本の姿を理解しようとする意欲が高まっている。そのことが、読書傾向の変化をもたらしているように思われる。筆者自

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8 X 社 J 氏への書面取材による。2020 年 6 月 11 日、7 月 7 日。また、姜淮《〈岩波日本史〉は这么来到大陆的》（「岩波日本史はどのように大陸にやってきた」）、WeChat 公式アカウント《出版人杂志》、2020 年 5 月 18 日。

身の教育と研究でも、そうした変化を身近に感じている。ここ7、8年来、筆者は大学3年生向けの日本近代史の授業を担当している。4、5年前までは、日本版の教科書、特に参考書の中国語翻訳が少なく、困っていた。しかしここ数年来、状況が大きく改善され、教育に必要なものはほとんど中国語訳で読めるようになった。幕末、黒船来航、明治維新、日清戦争、日露戦争、明治天皇等々、時代ごとについてのもの、重大な歴史事件や重要な歴史人物についてのものなど、多くの基本書の中国語訳が手に入るようになってきた。

あるコンサルティング会社による近年の中国における出版市場調査報告書「流行文化から巻き起こされた日本書ブーム——最近三年の日本書の版權取得及びその出版分析」によると、次のような点が注目される。(1) 中国にとって、日本は、米国と英国に次ぎ、第3位の図書輸入国となっており、出版企画における日本書の被選定率上昇は、出版市場シェア占有率上昇より大きい。(2) 文学系の占める市場シェアは5割超。(3) 哲学、宗教、歴史、地理系図書の出版増加が著しい。(4) 文学分野では、東野圭吾作品の市場価値が最も高いが、出版企画では夏目漱石作品の推薦優先度が最も高いという<sup>9</sup>。この調査結果は、筆者自身にも思い当たる節がいくつもある。

もう一つ、出版業界及び読者のより深い意識の変化を表す出来事がある。それは日本書に何を求めるかということである。多くの人は、流行文化・伝統文化、ベストセラー、話題書への関心から、日本書をととして本格的に日本の歴史・文化を学び、より深いレベルで理解しようと望んでいる。さらに、こうした日本理解の深化の延長線上には、日本・中国の別を問わず、より根源的なことを考えてみようという動きも生まれている。例えば、上述した《岩波日本史》に先んじて翻訳出版された講談社の『中国の歴史』（中国語のタイトルは《讲谈社・中国的历史》全10巻、桂林：広西師範大学出版社、2014年）及び今年刊行された同じく講談社の『興亡の世界史』（中国語のタイトルは《讲谈社・兴亡的世界史》全21巻、第1期9巻、理想国・北京日報出版社、2020年）の二つがよい実例になる。

特に『中国の歴史』は中国で重版となり、翻訳出版界に旋風を巻き起こした

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9 中金易云《流行文化带动日本图书热潮——近三年日本引进版图书分析》（「流行文化から巻き起こされた日本書ブーム——最近三年の日本書の版權取得及びその出版分析」）、WeChat 公式アカウント《中金易云》、2020年6月12日。

と言われるほどの人気書、話題書となっている。このような日本書に対して、中国の出版社と読者たちの関心は、その本に書かれた知識よりも、むしろ本の底にある新鮮で柔軟な普遍性のある発想、視点と方法、ないし中国、世界、歴史、人類などについての編著者たちの思考方式そのものにあるように見える。講談社の『中国の歴史』と岩波の『日本の歴史』の翻訳出版及びその大ヒットについて、前述の編集者J氏は次のような興味深い話を語ってくれた。上に挙げた中国史や日本史を読んで、

一つに、倫理道德を超えた価値観。これがとても大事だ。中国書の場合は、礼義廉恥のような道德説教が多すぎる。日本の場合は、そういう過剰な道德的束縛から自由である。同時に“美”の価値観が大事にされている。二点目は、(日本は)中華主義的な思考様式があまりないように見える。我々の歴史書には、天朝意識、即ち自国中心の発想が強い。この点で、日本はかなり違う。日本人の歴史叙述は、自ら進んで東アジアと全世界から日本の歴史を見ようとしている。これは中国の学者のなしえない点である。日本人の書いた中国史は、史料面は中国に及ばず、理論面では欧米人に及ばないかもしれないが、彼らのすごさは、真摯にアジアの立場から中国あるいは日本の歴史を見る点にあると思う。<sup>10</sup>

J氏のこうした見解に対して、筆者は一介の日本語日本文化教育者研究者として、まったく同感である。少なくとも上の2点については、日本と中国はある意味で対照的な位置にあるのではないかと考えている。

現在好評を博している講談社の『中国の歴史』と『興亡の世界史』について、中国の歴史研究者と読者が様々な場で感想や称賛の声をあげている。その一部を見てみよう。

- 世界の中国史研究において、日本人研究者には自分たちならではの伝統と個性が備わっており、独自の強みを有する。文化的学術的な伝統の相違によって、欧米人と日本人の中国史を見る際に、視点も、興味も、重点もそれぞれ異なるため、読者に斬新な感じを与えている。(清華大学張国剛教授)

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10 X社J氏への書面取材による。2020年6月11日。



- 教育及び研究体制の差異によって、日本の研究者は知識の幅広さという点で中国の研究者に優る。後者は特定の専門の枠に囚われる弊があるようだ。（中国社会科学院許宏教授）
- 大衆向けの歴史書は、歴史の叙述をその時代の生きた生身の人間たちの感知、歴史全体の情景、及び人間の普遍的な価値観へと還元しなければならないと同時に、最も新しい研究成果をも取り入れなければならない。そうした意味で、専門的な学術書と比べても、その難しさは少しも変わらないだろう。（復旦大学姚大力教授）

研究者だけではなく、一般読者の感想にも興味深いものがある。

- 外国人の視点から中国を見ることは、もしかしたら、我々自身に固有の執着や保守性を打ち破ってくれるかもしれない
- 現在の時代的政治に合わせることをせず、真の史料を用いて、歴史の真相を提示したものこそ、良い歴史書だと言えよう。
- 外国人研究者によって現実的な政治と離れた立場から書かれた中国の歴史は、かえって客観性があり、本当の歴史に近いだろう。……大学時代に資料を調べた時、教科書で学んだたくさんのものが違っていったことに気づき、非常に困惑した。特に近現代の中国史について。今日になって、これらの問題に問いかけと見直しを始めたことは、開放と進歩の表われでもあらう。<sup>11</sup>

こうして日本書をとおして、多くの人が「他者」の声に耳を傾け、二者択一、二元対立的な立場に警戒し始め、より多元的で柔軟な発想で物事を考えようとする姿勢は注目に値する。ポータルサイト「豆瓣讀書」に書かれた次のコメントはその一つである。「外国人の書いた中国史を読むにあたっては、なるべくその人の見方がどういうものなのか、どのようにできたのかを理解しなければならない。さらに言えば、相手の歴史意識や目的意識を理解してはじめて、相手と議論することが可能になるだろう」。<sup>12</sup>

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11 WeChat 公式アカウント《群学书院》、2020年7月19日。

12 《豆瓣讀書》を参照。<https://book.douban.com/review/7362977/>（2020年7月20日確認）

以上見たように、非常に限定的ではあったが、改革開放以来の特にここ10年の日本書の翻訳出版及び読書傾向は絶えず変化発展の軌跡を示している。ごく自然なことだが、最初はしばしば先入観を伴う形で、政治的に安全なラインを注視しながら、学術書のほか、大衆・流行・趣味・人気・話題などを軸に、日本を知るための日本書翻訳出版の第一波が現れた。次いで、出版者側から一般読者まで、とりわけ日本の歴史、宗教、哲学、文化、文学の分野で、日本理解の視野を広げ、より体系的に深く日本を知るための書物の翻訳出版が可能となる局面を迎えることになった。最近では、さらに興味深い動向が見て取れる。日本史、世界史、中国史の翻訳出版及び大ヒットに示されるように、人々は自己相対化の意味も含めて、「自己」「自国」を見直し始める一方、日本書に求めようとするものも、知識そのものを超えて、日本書の全体に現れた著者及び日本人的な発想の仕方、思考回路、研究の視点と方法に強い関心を注ぐようになってきている。さらに、現在の読書傾向から窺えるように、日本書の読書を通して、自己の不足を補うことを図り、より合理的で普遍性のある価値観を再確認し、通用性のある真の常識へ回帰するという願望さえ生まれ始めているように、中国で暮らしている筆者は感じている。

## Recent Trends in the Publication, Translation, and Reading of Japanese books in China

PAN Shisheng\*

This paper examines the trends in the publication, translation, and reading of Japanese books in China in recent years. At the end of the 1980s, Jiangsu People's Publishing House published its "Series of Chinese Studies Overseas," causing a sensation in the academic and cultural worlds. In 2009, China and Japan launched the joint publication project "Reading Modern Japanese Books," and in ten years, 111 Japanese books were translated into and published in Chinese. In recent years, books widely and systematically treating Japanese society,

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history, ideology, and culture have been given priority for translation, enabling readers to reflect on China through these Japanese works, and also on fundamental issues concerning universal values.

**Keywords:** China, Japanese books, translation and publication, reading trends, growing demand for Japanese books

## Edo-Era Women's History: A Review of Recent Work in English

Simon PARTNER\*

This essay reviews recent trends in the study of Edo-era women's history by English-language scholars. It focuses in particular on four recent biographies of Edo-era women. While three of the four women portrayed in these books gained some fame in Japan for their notable acts, the English-language biographers are more interested in the broader questions of class and gender revealed by these women's lives. All four biographies emphasize the agency of their subjects despite limitations imposed by class and gender expectations. Using the details of these women's lives, the authors shine a critical light on assumptions that might go unquestioned in more traditional historical approaches.

**Keywords:** Japanese history, women's history, Edo era, early modern age, historiography

Women's history has been an established subfield in Japanese studies in English for at least the past four decades. While much of the work has been on the modern era, there has always been a small group of scholars working on Edo-period women's history. In the 1990s, a series of important edited volumes combined the work of English-language scholars with translations of seminal Japanese articles to throw new light on a wide variety of topics related to Japanese women's history, including the history of the Edo era. Many of these essays also offer avenues for the reinterpretation

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of Edo-period history more broadly. Gail Bernstein's *Recreating Japanese Women* (1991) includes six essays on the Edo era by Kathleen Uno, Anne Walthall, Laurel Cornell, Jennifer Robertson, Patricia Fister, and Joyce Chapman Lebra.<sup>1</sup> In 1999, Hitomi Tonomura, Anne Walthall, and Wakita Haruko published *Women and Class in Japanese History*, which contains three Edo-related articles by scholars working in English (Tonomura, Ochiai Emiko, and Walthall), and translations of articles by three prominent Japanese scholars.<sup>2</sup> Wakita Haruko, Ueno Chizuko, and Anne Bouchy's two-volume *Gender and Japanese History* (1999) contains essays covering themes such as childbearing, shamanism, and women's labor across multiple eras of Japanese history.<sup>3</sup> And a forthcoming volume edited by Bettina Gramlich-Oka, Anne Walthall, Miyazaki Fumiko, and Sugano Noriko, *Women and Networks in Nineteenth-Century Japan* aims to "reconstruct the familial, neighborhood, religious, political, work, and travel networks that women maintained, constructed, or found themselves

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1 Gail Lee Bernstein, ed., *Recreating Japanese Women, 1600–1945*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991. Essays include: Kathleen S. Uno, "Women and Changes in the Household Division of Labor"; Anne Walthall, "The Life Cycle of Farm Women in Tokugawa Japan"; Laurel L. Cornell, "The Deaths of Old Women: Folklore and Differential Mortality in Nineteenth-Century Japan"; Jennifer Robertson, "The Shingaku Woman: Straight from the Heart"; Patricia Fister, "Female Bunjin: The Life of Poet-Painter Ema Saikō"; and Joyce Chapman Lebra, "Women in an All-Male Industry: The Case of Sake Brewer Tatsu'uma Kiyo."

2 Hitomi Tonomura, Anne Walthall, and Wakita Haruko, eds., *Women and Class in Japanese History*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Japanese Studies, 1999. Essays include: Hitomi Tonomura, "Sexual Violence Against Women: Legal and Extralegal Treatment in Premodern Warrior Societies"; Yokota Fuyuhiko (trans. by Mariko Asano Tamanoi), "Imagining Working Women in Early Modern Japan"; Sone Hiromi (trans. by Akiko Terashima and Anne Walthall), "Prostitution and Public Authority in Early Modern Japan"; Ochiai Emiko, "The Reproductive Revolution at the End of the Tokugawa Period"; Anne Walthall, "Matsuo Taseko and the Meiji Restoration: Texts of Self and Gender"; and Nishikawa Yūko (trans. by Anne Walthall), "Diaries as Gendered Texts."

3 Wakita Haruko, Ueno Chizuko, and Anne Bouchy, eds., *Gender and Japanese History. Vol. 1: Religion and Customs/The Body and Sexuality; Vol. 2: The Self and Expression/Work and Life*, Osaka: Osaka University Press, 1999. Essays include: Jugaku Akiko, "Nyōbō kotoba: A Focus Point for Women's Language and Women's History"; Hirata Yumi, "The Story of the Woman, the Woman in the Story"; and Takie S. Lebra, "Fractioned Motherhood: Gender and the Elite Status in Japan."

in, sometimes against their will.”<sup>4</sup> There have also been edited volumes on specific themes in Japanese women’s history. Examples include Barbara Ruch’s *Engendering Faith: Women and Buddhism in Premodern Japan*; Peter Kornicki, Mara Patessio, and G. G. Rowley’s *The Female as Subject: Reading and Writing in Early Modern Japan*; Sabine Fruhstuck and Anne Walthall’s *Child’s Play: Multi-Sensory Histories of Children and Childhood in Japan*; and Mary Berry and Marcia Yonemoto’s *What is a Family? Answers from Early Modern Japan*.<sup>5</sup>

These volumes cover a wide variety of topics in women’s history, and between them they have charted new possibilities for the study of Edo-period society with their focus on women, who, with the exception of a few prominent aristocrats, have been almost invisible in previous historical writing. However, Edo-period women’s history is still very much an emerging field among historians working in English, with only a handful of monographs published to date.

Several of those are concerned with issues of sex and the body. Amy Stanley’s *Selling Women: Prostitution, Markets, and the Household in Early Modern Japan* is an ambitious work that chronicles the transformation of Japan’s sex trade over a period of two centuries, examining its effects on urban and rural communities across Japan, and on families, with a particular focus on the emerging economic power of women.<sup>6</sup> William Lindsey’s *Fertility and Pleasure: Ritual and Sexual Values in Tokugawa Japan* focuses on rituals and symbols of sexual availability employed by women in the context of family life, comparing them to the professional women of the entertainment districts.<sup>7</sup> By comparing wives and prostitutes, Lindsey points to the commonalities

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4 Bettina Gramlich-Oka, Anne Walthall, Miyazaki Fumiko, and Sugano Noriko, eds., *Women and Networks in Nineteenth-Century Japan*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2020. Quote taken from the publisher’s website: [https://www.press.umich.edu/11595612/women\\_and\\_networks\\_in\\_nineteenth\\_century\\_japan](https://www.press.umich.edu/11595612/women_and_networks_in_nineteenth_century_japan).

5 Barbara Ruch, ed., *Engendering Faith: Women and Buddhism in Premodern Japan*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2003; Peter Kornicki, Mara Patessio, and G. G. Rowley, eds., *The Female as Subject: Reading and Writing in Early Modern Japan*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010; Sabine Fruhstuck and Anne Walthall, eds., *Child’s Play: Multi-Sensory Histories of Children and Childhood in Japan*, Oakland: University of California Press, 2017; Mary Berry and Marcia Yonemoto, eds., *What is a Family? Answers from Early Modern Japan*, Oakland: University of California Press, 2019.

6 Amy Stanley, *Selling Women: Prostitution, Markets, and the Household in Early Modern Japan*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012.

7 William R. Lindsey, *Fertility and Pleasure: Ritual and Sexual Values in Tokugawa Japan*, Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2006.

between women whose roles included sexual availability and loyal service. And Cecilia Segawa Seigle and Linda Chance's *Ōoku: The Secret World of the Shogun's Women* focuses on the inner quarters of the shogun's private household, occupied by the Tokugawa shoguns' wives, concubines, mothers, daughters, and their female servants.<sup>8</sup>

There is also a small cluster of monographs focusing on women in the arts. Rebecca Corbett's *Cultivating Femininity: Women and Tea Culture in Edo and Meiji Japan* focuses on female tea practitioners, their influence in creating modern understandings of femininity in Japan, and the light they cast on increasing female economic power and social mobility in the Edo period.<sup>9</sup> And Patricia Fister's *Japanese Women Artists, 1600–1900*, originally published as an exhibition catalogue, offers a comprehensive overview of several dozen female artists working in different genres across the span of the Edo era.<sup>10</sup>

Two books focus on the role of writing and print culture in the navigation of gender and class boundaries, particularly among women of the emerging middle class. Laura Nenzi's *Excursions in Identity: Travel and the Intersection of Place, Gender, and Status in Edo Japan* examines the world of women's travel during the Edo era, as recorded in numerous travel diaries of middle-class women, as well as in extensive visual and written commentary in the world of commercial publications.<sup>11</sup> Nenzi examines the role these travel experiences—and their commercialization—played in the social aspiration of commoner women, who used travel and travel writing to stake a claim to the refined culture of the samurai and aristocratic elites. And Marcia Yonemoto's *The Problem of Women in Early Modern Japan* focuses on writing produced by and for women—instructional manuals, diaries, memoirs, and letters—and considers how these rich fields of commercial and cultural production disrupt our established preconceptions of women's lives as bounded by the ideologies and control systems of patriarchy.<sup>12</sup>

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8 Cecilia Segawa Seigle, Linda H. Chance, *Ōoku: The Secret World of the Shogun's Women*, Amherst: Cambria Press, 2014.

9 Rebecca Corbett, *Cultivating Femininity: Women and Tea Culture in Edo and Meiji Japan*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014.

10 Patricia Fister, *Japanese Women Artists, 1600–1900*, Lawrence: Spencer Museum of Art, 1988.

11 Laura Nenzi, *Excursions in Identity: Travel and the Intersection of Place, Gender, and Status in Edo Japan*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2008.

12 Marcia Yonemoto, *The Problem of Women in Early Modern Japan*, Oakland: University of California Press, 2016.

Into this active and growing field of English-language research and publication, several monographs have been published over the past few decades on the lives of individual women. It is on these that I focus for the rest of this essay.

It is curious that biographies of little-known female historical figures should have emerged as a prominent genre in English-language women's history of the Edo era, especially since in other areas of Japanese historical writing, biographical writing is a marginal subfield. The trend, however, mirrors that in other regions, where women's voices have often been reclaimed through the telling of life stories. Perhaps one cause is the relative paucity of public documents relating to women. Since, with the exception of some aristocrats and literary figures, women seldom operated in the public sphere (other than to transgress, as in the case of European witchcraft trials), the surviving documents pertaining to women tend to be domestic and intimate: diaries, letters, and handbooks of domestic management. Such sources lend themselves to personal storytelling. However, diaries and letters usually represent an incomplete record, and they seldom add up to a coherent narrative. One of the challenges faced by biographers of unknown women is how to derive meaning from the mundanity of daily life expressed in these domestic documents. As Donald Keene lamented in his notes on the diary of Kawai Koume (a nineteenth-century housewife from Kishū domain): "The preparation of meals, heating the bath, and similar tasks of Japanese women of the time... are unlikely to retain the attention of a modern reader for very long."<sup>13</sup>

In Japanese, many historians have focused on the small population of famous women of the Edo era: imperial princesses and shogunal consorts such as Kazunomiya and Atsuhime; artists such as Katsushika Ōi and Ema Saikō; and courageous female warriors like Nakano Takeko and Niiijima Yae. Some of these women have also become well-known in popular culture as their stories have been adapted to TV dramas. By contrast, English-language biographers have tended to focus on less well-known women who nevertheless have made their historical mark through some remarkable act—what one might call "mid-level" actors on the historical stage.

Two well-known Japanese works on such mid-level actors have been translated into English, with extensive editing and annotation by the translators. Kate Wildman Nakai translated Yamakawa Kikue's *Buke no josei (Women of the Samurai Class)*, with

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13 Donald Keene, *Modern Japanese Diaries: The Japanese at Home and Abroad as Revealed Through Their Diaries*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1995, p. 270.

the addition of some of Yamakawa's later writing.<sup>14</sup> Based on the life of Yamakawa's mother, this vivid account of women's lives during Mito's bitter civil war in the mid-1860s and through the Meiji Restoration was published in English in 1992. Edwin McClellan's *Woman in the Crested Kimono: The Life of Shibue Io and Her Family Drawn from Mori Ōgai's Shibue Chūsai* narrates the life of Shibue Io, who was the wife of Shibue Chūsai, a prominent doctor in the late Edo era.<sup>15</sup> As McClellan notes in the title, this work is primarily a translation of the sections of Mori Ōgai's biography of Chūsai that are about Io, with the addition of McClellan's commentary.

Anne Walthall's *The Weak Body of a Useless Woman: Matsuo Taseko and the Meiji Restoration* was the first biography in English explicitly to address the larger issues of women and gender in the Edo era.<sup>16</sup> Matsuo Taseko (1811–1894), also a mid-level actor, was the wife of an affluent farmer. She became a noted poet, a follower of nativist thinker Hirata Atsutane, and, later in her life, a political activist for the overthrow of the Tokugawa shogunate. Taseko is by no means unknown in Japan: her role in the revolutionary movement has assured her a place in the history of the Meiji Restoration. But there has been little interest in the rest of her life. Walthall aims to connect the fifty years of Taseko's life in which she worked as a farmer's wife, mother of seven children, and regional poet, with the dramatic year in Kyoto that has made her famous.

As Walthall points out, local historians have idealized Taseko as a “good wife and wise mother,” while ignoring much that was unconventional or subversive even in the earlier period of her life. First, Taseko was a significant contributor to her family's economy—perhaps, even, its savior through her silk entrepreneurship. Second, although she was a woman from the oppressed farmer class, she was equipped with a remarkable array of educational tools. She was a fluent reader of Chinese as well as classical Japanese; she was widely read, and able to discuss matters of philosophy as well as politics. She was a committed follower of the school of Hirata Atsutane, and a registered member of his circle (one of twenty-nine women members). She was widely traveled, having been on several pilgrimages, some to distant parts of Japan. And she

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14 Yamakawa Kikue (trans. by Kate Wildman Nakai), *Women of the Mito Domain: Recollections of Samurai Family Life*, Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1992.

15 Edwin McClellan, *Woman in the Crested Kimono: The Life of Shibue Io and Her Family Drawn from Mori Ōgai's Shibue Chūsai*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

16 Anne Walthall, *The Weak Body of a Useless Woman: Matsuo Taseko and the Meiji Restoration*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

was a noted poet, with a rich and flourishing cultural circle that was largely independent of her husband and his social milieu. Walthall uses Taseko's poetry, moreover, as a window into her radical soul: the poetry often says more about the power of her political and social ideas than she was able to express in other ways. Taseko was, in other words, a fully rounded human being with a wide array of opportunities and a good deal of agency that allowed her to make unconventional choices. And that was even before she took the extraordinary step of going to Kyoto to support the anti-Tokugawa cause.

Once in Kyoto (where she went apparently with her husband's blessing), the scope of her activities was even more surprising. Although she was from a farm family and, one would have thought, of far too low a social status to be accepted by aristocratic courtiers, she was welcomed by leading members of the court faction, including their leader Iwakura Tomomi, even becoming his personal houseguest for a while. After the Meiji Restoration, she was able to use her close connections with the leading members of the anti-Tokugawa alliance to promote some of her own circle into government posts.

Walthall argues that, quoting Judith Butler, "To become a woman is a process in no sense fixed."<sup>17</sup> While this may be more obvious for women in the feminist era, it is still tempting to assume that the trajectories of premodern women's lives were "much more rigid, much less open to deviations either chosen by the woman herself or forced upon her by circumstance." The story of Taseko teaches us that no such assumptions should be made. "If we begin with the assumption that Taseko 'lived in a world as complex, fluid, and riddled with ambivalence as the world of today,' then her life becomes much more interesting and believable."<sup>18</sup>

Walthall emphasizes that while Taseko's life story prompts us to reevaluate the boundaries of class and gender in the Tokugawa era, her afterlife also throws revealing light on the gender ideologies of modern Japan. After her death, local historians extolled her as a famous historical figure. But they downplayed or ignored her radicalism, her activism, her powerful agency, and her defiance of gender expectations, emphasizing instead her loyalty and service to her family; her elegant feminine

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17 Ibid., p. 59, quoting Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, New York: Routledge, Chapman & Hall, 1990, p. 127.

18 Walthall, *The Weak Body of a Useless Woman*, p. 59, quoting Patricia Ebrey, *The Inner Quarters: Marriage and the Lives of Chinese Women in the Sung Period*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993, p. 9.



accomplishments, particularly her poetry; and (with regard to her political activism) her patriotism. She was reconstructed, in other words, as a model Japanese wife, mother, and patriot.

Laura Nenzi's *The Chaos and Cosmos of Kurosawa Tokiko: One Woman's Transit from Tokugawa to Meiji Japan* in many ways charts a similar path to Walthall's main character.<sup>19</sup> Like Taseko, Tokiko (1806–1890) was a commoner: she was the daughter of a village schoolteacher, and herself a teacher and eventual owner of the school. Like Taseko, she was energized by the political passions of the 1860s, and like Taseko, she traveled to Kyoto to make a political statement. Like Taseko, Tokiko had a long afterlife in the accounts written by local historians, which Nenzi treats as a key part of Tokiko's story. If this implies a criticism of Nenzi for writing about a life with so many similarities to one already chronicled, Nenzi herself provides the response: "By the same token, one must assume that the publication of a study on Yoshida Shoin would have made subsequent monographs on Sakamoto Ryōma or Saigō Takamori repetitive and unnecessary, for the history of male loyalism had already been written." Nenzi goes on to argue: "While gender and a devotion to the loyalist cause may have put Tokiko... and Taseko in the same general category, their cultural and economic backgrounds, their motivations, their cosmologies, and the ways in which they articulated and enacted their participation in the political debate of their times were vastly different, and each deserves due attention."<sup>20</sup>

Unlike Taseko, Tokiko was not wealthy, and her economic marginality influenced many of her actions. For example, she spent part of her life as a traveling peddler of hair ornaments, and she also practiced divination and healing as a mountain ascetic. She was an independent entrepreneur, responsible for the efficient management of a private village school; and later, she was an accredited elementary school teacher. She was also deeply involved in Shinto practice, and she had an abiding interest in celestial phenomena and what we might broadly term today as astrology. Her experience in Kyoto was also very different from that of Taseko. While Taseko moved easily in restorationist circles, and was even able to work as an intermediary between the various groups fighting for the overthrow of the Tokugawa, Tokiko's concern was more narrowly focused on the purge of Mito loyalists being undertaken

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19 Laura Nenzi, *The Chaos and Cosmos of Kurosawa Tokiko: One Woman's Transit from Tokugawa to Meiji Japan*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014.

20 Ibid., p. 3.

by the shogunal government in Edo. She wanted to present a petition to the emperor requesting the release of her daimyō, Tokugawa Nariaki, from house arrest. It is not clear if she succeeded in submitting the petition (Nariaki died shortly after, making Tokiko's intervention moot); but she was arrested, sent to Edo, and imprisoned in the notorious Tenmachō jail. After her release from prison, Tokiko played no further role in national affairs.

Despite the differences between their respective subjects, Nenzi and Walthall embrace a similar approach to connecting the totality of their subjects' lives to the broader political and ideological structures of the era. Nenzi focuses not only on Tokiko's political activism, but also on the diverse interests and activities of her life, and the ways in which they intersected with the great events of the day. For example, Tokiko's lifelong interest in divination, and her self-identification as a *shugendō* practitioner, gave her a sense of personal destiny as an intermediary between the harmonious powers of the cosmos and the broken politics of the era. The event that persuaded Tokiko to leave her schoolhouse behind and embark on the long walk to Tokyo was the appearance of Donati's comet in the last quarter of 1858.<sup>21</sup> This and other signs "functioned either as an inspiration or as an endorsement, making it not only possible, but in fact unavoidable for a baseborn nobody to step out of her microcosm and cross over into a much larger historical stage."<sup>22</sup> Her lifelong involvement in poetry also influenced her involvement in great historical events. Recognizing that argumentative prose was considered the prerogative of men, she submitted her petition to the emperor in the form of a long poem. Poetry, she believed, gave her an authoritative voice that could hold its own against the elites of the hierarchical and patriarchal social order. Nenzi also points out that Tokiko's relatively light punishment after her imprisonment in Edo—she was banished from Kyoto and Edo—reflects the authorities' bewilderment at a woman taking such direct action. Her gender helped her get away with political action that might have cost a man his life.

Tokiko's life was messy, lacking in clear direction, and not representative of any significant trend in Japanese history. This makes it hard for Nenzi to develop an argument based on a clear narrative, and indeed it leads her to disavow any suggestion

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21 This exceptionally bright comet, first observed and identified by Giovanni Battista Donati, was visible globally in the second half of 1858. It is estimated to pass within sight of Earth only once every 2,000 years.

22 Ibid., p. 53.

that Tokiko's life is "exemplary of the way in which 'women' experienced the collapse of the Tokugawa and the rise of the modern state";<sup>23</sup> instead, Nenzi creatively structures the book around Tokiko's own world and its concerns—the classroom, the cosmos, poetry, and politics—and uses them to shine light on otherwise invisible aspects of commoners' experiences of the restoration era.

Like Walthall, Nenzi devotes a section of the book to Tokiko's afterlife in local histories and biographies. In most of these, Tokiko is neatly packaged as a patriot (of Mito or of Japan), and as a restorationist hero. But in the very messiness of Tokiko's lived experience, Nenzi calls into question long-standing assumptions about the structure and ideology of Japanese society, both in the Tokugawa period and after. Yes, there were ideologies of class, hierarchy, and gender: of masculinity and femininity, and the boundaries controlling women's behavior. But those ideologies did not define Tokiko's life, and indeed, her life offers an alternative reality that is much less clearly defined, and which was much more open to individual agency and choice.

Bettina Gramlich-Oka's *Thinking Like a Man: Tadano Makuzu 1763–1825* takes as its subject another woman who refused to allow her life to be bounded by the gendered ideologies of her era.<sup>24</sup> *Thinking Like a Man* is an intellectual biography of the writer Tadano Makuzu (1763–1825). The book focuses especially on Makuzu's extraordinary essay, *Solitary Thoughts (Hitori Kangae)*, published in 1818.

Makuzu grew up in an affluent and well-read family. Her father was a physician in the Edo mansion of Sendai domain, an intellectual with a passionate interest in Russia. He was one of the early advocates for the colonization of Ezo (Hokkaido) to check Russia's expanding power in the region. Makuzu served for ten years as lady in waiting to the daimyo's daughter, before marrying Tadano Tsurayoshi, a senior retainer of Sendai domain and a widower with three sons. Makuzu's husband, who remained in Edo and seldom visited her in Sendai, encouraged her to write. Makuzu wrote an autobiography in 1811, and, after the death of her husband, she embarked on her extensive philosophical and political treatise, *Solitary Thoughts*.

This radical essay took issue with the neo-Confucian world order embraced by the Tokugawa establishment. Makuzu argued that the only "phenomena that never change, are the revolutions of the sun and moon, the number of days and nights, and

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23 Ibid., p. 3.

24 Gramlich-Oka, *Thinking Like a Man: Tadano Makuzu 1763–1825*, Leiden: Brill, 2006, p. 177.

the rhythm that floats through them all.”<sup>25</sup> By contrast, the moral and social structures created by Confucianism were manmade, and hence subject to change. Rather than a strict social order, the essay emphasized the need for harmony with the natural rhythms of the world. In an argument that anticipated the feminist movements of the following century, Makuzu argued that although women were forced to accept a position of inferiority and subjection in Japanese society, this did not reflect any absolute morality or social structure; nor did it reflect any intellectual inferiority on the part of women. Rather, it was the result of their physical weakness. As Gramlich-Oka puts it, “It was her physical lack of a penis that put the woman in a subordinate position.”<sup>26</sup> The essay also expressed strong opinions on politics, arguing that daimyo rulers should not depend on an abstract moral order for their supremacy, but rather should engage in trade and mercantilism in order to build their economic and political power.

Tadano Makuzu’s ideas were shocking for a woman to express. Takizawa Bakin, whom she consulted about her manuscript, was deeply impressed by her “astonishing ideas” and her “manly spirit,” but he was also repelled by her boldness and her disregard of correct etiquette.<sup>27</sup>

Gramlich-Oka argues that Makuzu’s work was radically subversive to, but also revealing of, “the gender discourse deeply embedded in the academic discourse of Tokugawa Japan as well as in our modern interpretations of that discourse.”<sup>28</sup> Female writers have generally been herded into a gendered literary category of “women’s literature” (*joryū bungaku*). But Gramlich-Oka argues that Makuzu’s work defies such conventions and demands to be placed on an equal footing with the political and philosophical work of male intellectuals. She was never able to participate directly in their world (even Bakin, in spite of his admiration of her work, refused to correspond with her); but she used her position as a wealthy widow to challenge the gendered orthodoxies of the Tokugawa era.

Matsuo Taseko, Kurosawa Tokiko, and Tadano Makuzu are all women who, while far from being household names, are known by Japanese historians for remarkable (in the context of their gender) political actions or statements. By contrast,

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25 Bettina Gramlich-Oka, “Tadano Makuzu and Her Hitori Kangae,” *Monumenta Nipponica* vol. 56, no. 1, Spring 2001, p. 14.

26 Ibid., p. 15.

27 Ibid., p. 11–12. See also Gramlich-Oka, *Thinking Like a Man: Tadano Makuzu 1763–1825*.

28 Ibid., p. 177.

Tsuneno, the subject of Amy Stanley's *Stranger in the Shogun's City: A Japanese Woman and Her World* is mostly unknown.<sup>29</sup> Tsuneno (1805–1853) was the daughter of a priest from Echigo Province who, in 1839, after three failed marriages, ran away from home and made her way to Edo. She pawned all her clothes for the journey and arrived in Edo penniless. When they learned what she had done, her family disowned her, but Tsuneno was determined to get a job in an aristocratic mansion so that she could “learn the conduct and manners of the upper class.”<sup>30</sup>

Luckily, the labor market for domestic workers was strong, and Tsuneno was quickly hired as a maid in the household of a *hatamoto* retainer.<sup>31</sup> Probably Tsuneno's education and social background may have helped her get hired, but “The work is hard, and my hands and feet go numb [from the cold].”<sup>32</sup> Over the next several years, she went on to work as a servant in a townsman's household, a maid at a temple, an acupuncturist's assistant, and a waitress in a restaurant. During these years, Tsuneno also remarried, to Hanzō, a masterless samurai. Hanzō was down on his luck, and for years the couple remained mired in poverty. But eventually Hanzō landed an excellent job, and in an extraordinary illustration of the social mobility enabled by the melting pot of Edo, Tsuneno became a middle-class samurai housewife.

In Tsuneno, Stanley has unearthed a vibrant character with a fascinating story, and *Stranger in the Shogun's City* is first and foremost a riveting narrative. Despite her fragmentary and incomplete sources (primarily a collection of letters from Tsuneno to her family), Stanley has succeeded in developing Tsuneno's story and imbuing it with meaning and emotional power. The city of Edo is also a major character. As much an urban history as it is a life story, the book examines the ways in which Tsuneno both was shaped by and helped shape this vibrant city inhabited mostly by migrants like her. *Stranger in the Shogun's City* has been widely and favorably reviewed by the mainstream media, and it has achieved a visibility seldom matched in the field of Japanese historical writing.

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29 Amy Stanley, *Stranger in the Shogun's City: A Japanese Woman and Her World*, New York: Scribner, 2020. Tsuneno's archive, containing 130 letters, is housed in the Niigata Prefectural Archives, which has transcribed and published them with commentary.

30 Amy Stanley, “Maidservants' Tales: Narrating Domestic and Global History in Eurasia, 1600–1900,” *The American Historical Review* vol. 121, issue 2, April 2016, p. 437.

31 The *hatamoto* were direct retainers of the Tokugawa shogun. They enjoyed a high status in Edo's samurai society.

32 Ibid., p. 446.

One of the strengths of the book is Stanley's exploration of Tsuneno's agency: her desire to shape her own life, even if the choices she made had uncertain and difficult consequences. Not all urban migrants had Tsuneno's freedom to choose. Some were sold by their families into servitude; others were refugees from extreme poverty, who aspired only to survive. Stanley emphasizes the need to contextualize the problem of agency: to be aware of which opportunities for resistance were imaginable at a given place and time. The city lured rural women with the promise of freedom from harsh family servitude, and from the cruel poverty of cold northern villages. It lured them with the promise of ample rice, of entertainment and showy display, and of the prospect of making a good marriage or starting a business, to improve their social and economic position.

Stanley concludes that Tsuneno and others like her played a role in shaping the modern world that she would not live to see. It was women like her, willing to take enormous personal risks to try their luck in the capital, who populated the crowded spaces of the growing city, who provided the essential services, and who used their earnings to help expand the city's vibrant consumer economy. Stanley emphasizes the universality of Tsuneno's experience, which challenges notions of "premodern" versus "modern." Women like Tsuneno have provided much of the energy and motive force for the growth of the world's megacities, right down to the present day.

The subjects of these four biographies are very different people in terms of wealth and social status, region of origin, and activities and achievements. But the authors' treatments have much in common. All of them deal with women who, while they might for much of their lives have seemed "ordinary," were driven to engage with their society, to step outside their boundaries and try and change things, whether for their own economic betterment or for the political transformation of the nation. While they acknowledge the rigid ideologies of class and gender that prevailed in Edo-era Japan, the authors refuse to allow their subjects to be defined or bounded by their gender. All the authors, explicitly or implicitly, highlight the agency their subjects were able to exert as they sought out their differing paths in life. Indeed, these books call into question the very categories of class, gender, and periodization that have structured so much historical writing on Edo-era Japan. In that sense, these biographies of four unique, idiosyncratic women and their sometimes chaotic lives shine a critical light on assumptions that might go unquestioned in more traditional historical approaches.

## 江戸時代の女性史——最近の英文研究

サイモン・パートナー\*

本稿では、最近出版された伝記4冊に焦点を当て、英語圏における江戸時代の女性に関する歴史研究の動向を振り返る。伝記で描かれている4人のうち3人はいくつかの重要な活動を行ったことで日本でもある程度有名であるが、英語の伝記作家はむしろ、彼女たちの人生によって明らかにされる階級とジェンダーについてのより広い問題に関心を寄せている。4冊の伝記が強調するのは、階級とジェンダーによる制限にもかかわらず、これらの女性が持っていた主体性である。人生の細部を描くことで、伝統的な歴史学的手法では問題視されることのない前提に対し批判的な光を当てている。

キーワード：日本史、女性史、江戸時代、近世、歴史学

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## A Review of China's Research on the Wanli Korean War in the Past Hundred Years

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Over the past hundred years, the Chinese research approach to the Wanli Korean War has changed from “no emphasis placed on the Wanli Korean War” to “high emphasis placed on it,” from research subject to serious political interference to rigorous academic research, and from research focused specifically on the Ming's participation in the war to research aimed at reaching a comprehensive understanding of the war from various East Asian perspectives. Research results were published mainly in monographs rather than in systematic academic books. Moreover, the research results mainly presented the description of historical facts and a list of historical materials because of a long-standing lack of academic interest. However, since the early 2000s, the number of researchers in this field has increased. They have made extensive use of historical materials from China, Japan, and Choson Korea and have comprehensively advanced the investigation of this topic from the perspectives of East Asia and new cultural history, gradually integrating it into the mainstream of international academic research.

**Keywords:** Wanli Korean War, Imjin War, Bunroku Keicho's Korean War, Sino-Korean Relations, Ming Dynasty

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The Wanli Korean War lasted for seven years (1592–1598) and had a pivotal influence on the premodern East Asian world. The war has also been a topic of ongoing discussion in academic circles in modern China, Japan, and Korea. Many Japanese and South Korean scholars have engaged in fruitful academic research on this topic, to which they have attached great importance. Not only do the academic journals in the field conduct reviews every year but Japanese and Korean scholars engage in joint research and hold conferences to discuss their research status and existing problems.<sup>1</sup> In China, scholars have been studying the Wanli Korean War since the 1920s, and their accumulated scholarship warrants review. This article will sort out the relevant scholarship of various Chinese academic circles during the past hundred years, listing academic publications according to time period and providing a critical evaluation.

## I. Overview of Publications in the First Half of the Twentieth Century

Since the early twentieth century, historical studies in China have been vigorously promoted through the establishment of modern universities and the development of higher education, the introduction of modern subject-based history, and the specialization and institutionalization of academic research. From the early 1900s on, several historical works on Japanese history and the history of Sino-Japanese relations were published to warn the Chinese people about a Japanese military invasion, and these works provided a corresponding narrative for the Wanli Korean War. At the same time, certain essential Ming and Choson historical books, such as Song Yingchang's *Jinglue fuguo yaobian* and Mao Ruizheng's *Wanli sandazheng kao* and *Xuanmiao zhongxin zhi*, were published by academic journals and newspapers.

During the Republican era of Chinese history, Wang Chongwu was the most important scholar of the Wanli Korean War. At the end of 1947, he published “On the Issues of the Wanli Eastern Expedition” in *Jingshi Daily*<sup>2</sup> as he began his research

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1 More than a decade years ago, Japanese and Korean scholars conducted joint research and published relevant papers. 六反田豊 Rokutanda Yutaka, et al., 「文祿・慶長の役」 [Bunroku Keicho's Korean War]; 朴哲暁 Park Sil-Kuang, 「壬辰倭乱（文祿・慶長の役）研究の現況と課題」 [On the Current Status and Research Issues on the Imjin Japanese Revolt (Bunroku Keicho Korean War)], 『日韓歴史共同研究報告書 第2分科篇』 [Japan-Korea History Joint Research Report], Tokyo: 日韓歴史共同研究委員会 [Japan-Korea History Joint Research Committee], 2005.

2 王崇武 Wang Chongwu, 《萬曆東征問題》 [On the Issues of the Wanli Eastern Expedition], 《經世日報·讀書週刊》 [“Reading Weekly,” in *the Jingshi Daily*], November 26, 1947.

on this war. In 1948, he published four academic papers in the *Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology*.<sup>3</sup> In “On Reading the ‘Choson Biography’ in *Mingshi*,” he conducted a comparative study of the Qing, officially compiled *Mingshi* and “The Records of the Choson Dynasty,” and pointed out that the *Mingshi* had made many mistakes in recording the histories of foreign countries. He urged that *Mingshi* be compared with foreign history books to expose its fallacies and find the truth, thus emphasizing the importance of other countries’ historical data in the studies of Ming history. This study and other articles by Wang Chongwu, which also use Korean historical records to amend or supplement the records in the *Mingshi* about Ming generals Li Rusong and Yang Gao on the Korean battlefields, had far-reaching implications.

At the same time, Li Guangtao began to publish papers<sup>4</sup> criticizing the Japanese scholar Masaru Aoki’s viewpoint in “The Figure of Toyotomi Hideyoshi in Chinese Operas and Novels.”<sup>5</sup> He noted that Masaru Aoki devalued the achievements of the Ming army. Li Guangtao analyzed the Battle of Pyongyang and the Sea Battle of Ryohei using the historical materials of China and Choson Korea to systematically evaluate the achievements of Li Rusong and Deng Zilong in these two battles.

This period before 1949 was the earliest stage in the study of the Wanli Korean War in China. Since China had been in a difficult position during the Japanese military invasion from 1931 to 1945, Chinese scholars often studied the Wanli Korean

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3 王崇武 Wang Chongwu, 《讀〈明史·朝鮮傳〉》[On Reading the ‘Choson Biography’ in *Mingshi*], 《中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊》[Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology] 12, 1948, pp. 1–25; 《劉綎征東考》[A Study on Liu Ting’s Eastern Expedition], 《中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊》[Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology] 14, 1948, pp. 137–149; 《李如松征東考》[A Study on Li Rusong’s Eastern Expedition], 《中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊》[Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology] 16, 1948, pp. 343–374; 《論萬曆征東島山之戰及明清薩爾滸之戰：讀〈明史·楊鎬傳〉》[On the Battle of Island Mountain in the Wanli Korean War and the Battle of Saerhu in the Ming and Qing Dynasties: Reading ‘Ming History-Yang Gao Zhuan’], 《中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊》[Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology] 17, 1948, pp. 137–164.

4 李光濤 Li Guangtao, 《朝鮮壬辰倭禍中之平壤戰役與南海戰役：兼論〈中國戲曲小說中的豐臣秀吉〉》[The Battle of Pyongyang and the Battle of the South Sea in the Choson Imjin War: On “The Figure of Toyotomi Hideyoshi in Chinese Operas and Novels”], 《中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊》[Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology] 20, 1948, pp. 275–298.

5 青木正兒 Aoki Masaru, 「支那戲曲小説中の豊臣秀吉」[The Figure of Toyotomi Hideyoshi in Chinese Operas and Novels][1927], 『青木正兒全集』[The Complete Works of Masaru Aoki] vol. 7, 春秋社 Shunjū-sha, 1970, pp. 75–81.

War from the perspective of Ming and Qing history, emphasizing the anti-Japanese fighting spirit while narrating historical facts. Wang Chongwu perceptively used Korean historical materials to test many mistakes in the books on Chinese history and clarified the original history. He was a pioneer in the study of the Wanli Korean War in modern China and had great influence.

## II. An Overview of Research from 1949 to 1978

The founding of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949, had a crucial impact on the development of Chinese historiography. Moreover, the outbreak of the New Korean War in 1950 forced Chinese scholars to pay considerable attention to the study of the Wanli Korean War because of the similarities between these two wars. In June 1950, Zhou Yiliang published "The Historical Relationship between China and Korea" in *New Construction*,<sup>6</sup> which traced the history of the Chinese and Korean peoples' fight against foreign aggression. During that period, many published papers focused on Li Rusong's victory in Pyongyang, the victory of Yee Shun-shon's navy, the heroic warfare of the Chinese and Korean coalition forces in the Noryang Naval Battle, and the protests of the Choson Korean people. Unlike scholarly research during the Republic of China, these studies adopted the perspective of economic and class struggles, and because of the special background of the times, included many political ideas in the text to resist the United States and promote nationalism and patriotism.

In the early 1960s, many papers and books were published. Zhou Yiliang and Li Jingwen each published a book through the *Zhonghua shuju* (Zhonghua Book Company) and the Commercial Press, respectively, in 1962.<sup>7</sup> Although neither book is long, nor a highly professional academic work, they incorporated the latest research results. In the 1960s and 1970s, Liu Shuren completed a manuscript titled "The Renchen War of Resisting the Japanese," which was not published until 1987. He bequeathed the manuscript to the Yanbian Institute of History, which was published

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6 周一良 Zhou Yiliang, 《中國與朝鮮的歷史關係》[The Historical Relationship between China and Korea], 《新建設》[New Construction] no. 3, 1950, pp. 25–31.

7 周一良 Zhou Yiliang, 《明代援朝抗倭战争》[The War of the Ming Assisting Choson Korea and the Resistance Against Japan], Beijing: 中华书局 [Zhonghua Book Company], 1962. 李景温 Li Jingwen, 《朝鲜壬辰卫国战争》[The Choson Imjin War], Beijing: 商务印书馆 [The Commercial Press], 1962.

in the second volume of *The Studies of Yanbian History*.<sup>8</sup> Liu Shuren was born in Korea. During the Japanese colonial era, he fled to China with his family and settled down there. In his later years, he specialized in the history of Sino-Korean relations. During the Cultural Revolution, he completed “The Renchen War of Resisting the Japanese.” This is perhaps one of the most important academic works on the Wanli Korean War published in Chinese academic circles in the twentieth century. It contains seven chapters drawn from the historical materials of China, Japan, and Korea elaborating on the causes, course, and influences of the war. At the time, it was rare to find such a broad experience emerging from that rigorous academic environment.

Wu Han was one of the important scholars of the Wanli Korean War. Even though he did not write any paper on this issue, he compiled a series of books titled “Chinese Historical Materials in the Records of the Choson Korean Dynasty,” incorporating years of painstaking effort and bringing convenience and significance to the study of the Wanli Korean War.<sup>9</sup> This work is an essential historical record for studying the war. However, for a long time, this series was a rare collector’s item in Chinese libraries and is not easy to get. Moreover, this set of books contains many volumes that are very difficult to read through, but the historical materials compiled by Wu Han make up for this shortcoming. This set, which contains twelve volumes, was completely typeset in 1966 but was not officially published by Zhonghua shuju until 1980. The seven years of the Wanli Korean War (1592–1598) take up almost four volumes, accounting for approximately one-third of the set. The books are mainly based on the original historical materials and are occasionally abridged. The text is often accompanied by words of interpretation and labeling added by Wu Han. This series of books not only conveys historical facts but also facilitates those who are not familiar with Korean history and reflects Wu Han’s historical research and observation of events.

Before the 1980s, Li Guangtao was the most important representative in Chinese Taiwan of those scholars studying the Wanli Korean War. In 1948, he published the article mentioned earlier (“The Battle of Pyongyang and the Battle of the South Sea in the Choson Imjin War: On ‘The Figure of Toyotomi Hideyoshi in Chinese Operas and Novels’”), and he continued to study the war, publishing

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8 柳树人 Liu Shuren, 《壬辰抗倭战争》[The Renchen War of Resisting the Japanese], 《延边历史研究》[The Studies of Yanbian History] vol. 2, 1987, pp. 1–156.

9 吴晗 Wu Han, 《朝鲜李朝實錄中的中國史料》[Chinese Historical Materials in the Records of the Choson Korean Dynasty], Beijing: 中華書局 [Zhonghua Book Company], 1980.

seventeen papers from 1950 to 1982.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, he published two academic books titled “Materials on Choson Renchen Japanese Harassment”<sup>11</sup> and “A Study on Ming’s Giving Toyotomi Hideyoshi a King Seal of Japan on the 23<sup>rd</sup> Year of Emperor Wanli,”<sup>12</sup> in addition to editing a five-volume book for a collection of the selected original materials from the “Records of the Choson Dynasty” titled “Materials of Choson Renchen Japanese Harassment.” His research covers various topics, such as Song Yingchang, Li Rusong, Yang Gao, Chen Lin, and other Ming generals related to the Battle of Pyongyang, the Battle of Ulsan, and the Battle of Lushan; a study of peace talks between the Ming and Japan; Ding Yingtai’s debates; and the resignation of the descendants of the generals of the Ming Eastern expedition. Li Guangtao’s work deepened the knowledge of the Wanli Korean War. His research, which is mainly based on Korean historical materials, such as “The Records of the Choson King Seon-jo,” “The Corrected Records of the Choson King Seon-jo,” “Choson King Seon-jo’s Promotion,” and others, has considerable academic significance.

After the founding of the People’s Republic of China in 1949, many political movements influenced academic research, including the study of the Wanli Korean War. In the early 1950s, because of the new Korean War, a series of studies were published on the Wanli Korean War, but their practical significance and social influence were greater than their academic significance. Of course, there was also robust scholarship such as Wu Han’s “Chinese Historical Materials in the Records of the Choson Korean Dynasty” and Liu Shuren’s “The Renchen War of Resisting the Japanese,” which had a great influence on future academic research. Li Guangtao was

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10 李光濤 Li Guangtao,《朝鮮“壬辰倭禍”研究》[A Study on the Choson Imjin Disaster of the Japanese], Taipei: 中央研究院歷史語言研究所 [Institute of History and Language, Academia Sinica], 1972;《朝鮮“壬辰倭禍”與李如松之東征》[The Choson Imjin War and Li Rusong’s Eastern Expedition],《中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊》[Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology] 22, 1950, pp. 267–297;《明人援韓與楊鎬蔚山之役》[Ming Soldiers Assisting Choson Korea and Yang Gao’s Uisan Battle],《中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊》[Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology] 41 (4), 1969, pp. 545–566;《明人援韓與稷山大捷》[Ming Soldiers Assisting Choson Korea and the Jishan Victory],《中央研究院歷史語言研究所集刊》[Bulletin of the Institute of History and Philology] 43 (1), 1971, pp. 1–14.

11 李光濤 Li Guangtao,《朝鮮“壬辰倭禍”史料》[Materials on Choson Renchen Japanese Harassment], Taipei: 中央研究院歷史語言研究所 [Institute of History and Language, Academia Sinica], 1972.

12 李光濤 Li Guangtao,《萬曆廿三年封日本國王豐臣秀吉考》[A Study on Ming’s Giving Toyotomi Hideyoshi a King Seal of Japan on the 23<sup>rd</sup> Year of Emperor Wanli], Taipei: 中央研究院歷史語言研究所 [Institute of History and Language, Academia Sinica], 1972.

the most important scholar of this war in Chinese Taiwan, and his research still has reference value as well.

### III. An Overview of Research from 1978 to the Present

After 1978, China implemented a policy of reformation and openness, and since then, academic research in China has been flourishing. With the popularization of electronic resources after 2000, the academic ecology took on new characteristics. As a result, the research can be divided into the following two time periods to introduce relevant academic developments.

#### A. Academic Trends from 1978 to 2000

In the early 1980s, academic studies of the Wanli Korean War in China began to increase as represented by the work of Yang Zhaoquan. He had long studied the history of Sino-Korean relations, especially the history of major bilateral events. In 1980, he published a paper titled “An Evaluation on the End of the Ming Wanli Korean War,” which marked the beginning of his studies on the topic.<sup>13</sup> By 1988, he had published eight papers on the nature, causes, endings, tributes, and discussions of this war. He also reviewed North Korean historical achievements and Chinese scholarship, covering the causes and nature of the war from the perspective of Japan, victory or defeat in the Battle of Bitiguan, the reasons for negotiations and the responsible persons in the Ming Dynasty, and the relations between Chinese and Korean soldiers and civilians, all of which had far-reaching influence.<sup>14</sup>

From the late 1980s to the 1990s, more and more scholars began to focus on this field of research. The number of published papers increased, and the specific topics of research expanded in scope. Zhao Jianmin published, in 1998, an article focusing on the introduction of Korean Neo-Confucian studies, medical technology, printing, and ceramic technology into Japan both before and after the war, which strengthened

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13 杨昭全 Yang Zhaoquan, 《明代援朝御倭战争的结局和评价》[An Evaluation on the End of the Ming Wanli Korean War], 《朝鲜史通讯》[Korean History Communication] 2, 1980, p. 32.

14 杨昭全 Yang Zhaoquan, 《论丰臣秀吉发动朝鲜战争的原因与性质》[On the Causes and Nature of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's Launching the Korean War], 《学术研究丛刊》[Academic Research Series] 3, 1980, pp. 59–66.

Japanese culture and technology during the Edo period and caused them to flourish.<sup>15</sup> In 1989, Wei Xusheng published a book on the study of the famous Choson novel “Records of the Imjin War” from the perspective of literary history to show its unique historical value.<sup>16</sup> In 1990, Wu Fengpei compiled a book titled “A Collection of the Historical Materials of the Imjin War,” which was divided into two volumes, including the following five historical records: *Jinglue fuguo yaobian*, *Liangchao pingrang lu*, *Wanli sandazheng kao*, *Chengbilu*, *Zhenghan weilue*. These provide important materials for the study of the Wanli Korean War.<sup>17</sup>

After the establishment of diplomatic relations between China and South Korea in August 1992, scholarship on the history of Sino-Korean relations prospered. One of the typical topics of interest was the Wanli Korean War. Many textbook-style general history books were published in various fields, such as Ming and Qing history, the history of Sino-Korean relations, Korean history, the history of Sino-Japanese relations, and Japanese history. These texts were published in large numbers, most of which addressed the Wanli Korean War in basically similar ways but from slightly different perspectives.

During this period, the representative scholar in Chinese Taiwan was Professor Zheng Liangsheng from Tamkang University. He was a famous expert on the history of Sino-Japanese relations in the Ming Dynasty. On the basis of Li Guangtao’s research, he promoted the study of the Wanli Korean War in Taiwan. His masterpiece is titled “A Study on Sino-Japanese Relations in the Ming Dynasty: Focusing on Several Issues Seen in the Japanese Biography in Mingshi.”<sup>18</sup> The fifth chapter, in more than 100 pages, focuses on Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s foreign policies and war preparations, the process of the war and negotiations, the effects of the war, and other

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15 赵建民 Zhao Jianmin, 《文禄·庆长之役与朝鲜文化的传播》[The Battle of Bunroku Keicho and the Spread of Korean Culture], 《复旦学报》[Journal of Fudan University] 5, 1998, pp. 118–123.

16 韋旭昇 Wei Xusheng, 《〈抗倭演義〉(〈壬辰錄〉) 及其研究》[Stories of the Choson Resisting the Japanese Invasion: “Records of the Imjin War” and Its Studies], Taiyuan: 北岳文艺出版社 [Beiyue Literature and Art Publishing House], 1989.

17 吴丰培 Wu Fengpei, 《壬辰之役史料汇编》[A Collection of the Historical Materials of the Imjin War], Beijing: 全国图书馆文献缩微复制中心 [National Library Document Microcopy Center], 1990.

18 鄭樸生 Zheng Liangsheng, 《明代中日關係研究：以明史日本傳所見幾個問題為中心》[A Study on Sino-Japanese Relations in the Ming Dynasty: Focusing on Several Issues Seen in the Japanese Biography in “Mingshi”], Taipei: 文史哲出版社 [Wen Shizhe Publishing House], 1985.

issues. In addition to using the historical materials of China and Choson Korea, he made extensive reference to Japanese diaries, genealogies, document files, et cetera, and attached many Japanese diplomatic documents, maps, and other image data, and widely absorbed Japanese and Korean research results. He was the only scholar on both sides of the Taiwan Strait who could be so skillful at using Japanese and Korean original materials, and who could engage with Japanese and Korean scholars at that time. In addition, he published a twelve-volume set, "A Collection of Studies on the History of Sino-Japanese Relations," which includes articles about the Wanli Korean War.<sup>19</sup>

From 1978 to the early 2000s, Chinese research on the Wanli Korean War was characterized by Marxist historiography in the early period, which had inherited the historical research methods common to a time before the Cultural Revolution. In this era, scholars paid attention to class struggles, Sino-Japanese ethnic differences, and traditional friendship, as practical reality was of greater concern than academic exploration. From the mid-1980s to the 1990s, as scholarship bloomed, scholars broke through their original practice of historical and political examination and began to deepen their interest in cultural and economic history, expanding their investigations, and paying attention to exchanges with Japanese and Korean historians, which became an academic trend.

## **B. Research Trends from 2000 to the Present**

Since the early 2000s, with the increasing wealth of electronic resources, many electronic databases in China, Japan, and Korea have become available. Extra-territorial data have become easy to access. A completely different academic ecology has been useful for the study of the Wanli Korean War, which has attracted increasing attention from Chinese scholars, resulting in many new academic studies.

In 2002, Chen Wenshou began to study this topic from the viewpoint of the Tokugawa shogunate to rediscover Japan's position in the Chinese world order, focusing on the negotiation process between Japan and Choson Korea. In the same year, he completed his doctoral thesis, deepening his research. In the following

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19 鄭樑生 Zheng Liangsheng, 《明代中韓兩國靖倭政策的比較研究》[A Comparative Study of Suppressing Policies between China and Choson Korea in the Ming Dynasty], and 《壬辰倭亂期間的和談始末》[The Beginning and End of the Peace Talks during the Wanli Korean War], 《中日關係史研究論集》[A Collection of Studies on the History of Sino-Japanese Relations], respectively vol. 8 and 10, Taipei: 文史哲出版社 [Wen Shizhe Publishing House], 1998 and 2000.



decade, he successively published several papers that studied the monastic diplomacy between Japan and Choson Korea, the rise of the Qing Dynasty in East Asia after the Imjin War, and the problem of the desecrated people. In 2013, he published a book titled “From War to Peace: A Study of Japan’s Relations with Ming-Qing China and Choson Korea after the First Korean War.”<sup>20</sup> Generally speaking, he studied the war from the perspective of the Chinese world order and modern Japanese foreign relations, pointing out that the Wanli Korean War had a huge impact on the Chinese world order during the Ming Dynasty and continued to have an impact on events even after the establishment of the Qing Dynasty.

Wan Ming has also studied the Wanli Korea War for many years and has published several valuable academic articles.<sup>21</sup> She noted that the Wanli Korean War was a turning point in the political history of the late Ming Dynasty. She explored the change in the Ming’s foreign policy and the truth of the peace talks to show the deep political crisis in the Ming court, and she concluded that this war was the prelude to the Ming Dynasty’s decline. She discussed the important role that sixty-nine Ming generals played in the war as described in the newly discovered Korean text *Song Jinglue Shu*. At the same time, she considered the currency transformation after Zhang Juzheng’s reform as the background for her study and used silver as a central element in her analysis of the financial problems of the wartime Ming Dynasty. She discovered that throughout the war, the Ming Dynasty invested more than 20 million *yuan* in silver, which laid a solid economic basis for the final victory in the war.

Chen Shangsheng published a paper in 2008 on the reaction of the Ming Dynasty to the war and pointed out that the tributary system played an active role in

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20 陈文寿 Chen Wenshou, 《从战争走向和平：第一次朝鲜战争后日本与中国和朝鲜关系研究》 [From War to Peace: A Study of Japan’s Relations with Ming-Qing China and Choson Korea after the First Korean War], Hong Kong: 香港社會科學出版社有限公司 [Hong Kong Social Science Press], 2013.

21 万明 Wan Ming, 《万历援朝之战与明后期政治态势》 [The Wanli Korean War and the Political Situation in the Late Ming Dynasty], 《中国史研究》 [Journal of Chinese History Studies] 2, 2001, pp. 119–134; 《朝堂与战事之间：明朝万历援朝之战官将群体的初步考察》 [Between the Court and the War: A Preliminary Investigation of the Group of Ming Generals in the Wanli Korean War] 《烟台大学学报》 [Journal of Yantai University] 3, 2017, pp. 90–107; 《万历援朝之战时期明廷财政问题——以白银为中心的初步考察》 [The Financial Issues of the Ming during the Wanli Korean War: A Preliminary Study Centering on Silver], 《古代文明》 [The Journal of Ancient Civilization] 3, 2018, pp. 93–107.

national security after the Wanli Korean War.<sup>22</sup> Subsequently, he published a series of papers discussing the issue of the envoys during the tributary peace talks, the supply of grain and grass during the Ming Dynasty, the issue of East Asian international order before and after the war, and the means of “civilian diplomacy” between the Ming Dynasty and Choson Korea, and further explained the maintenance of the Ming Dynasty.<sup>23</sup> He paid special attention to the case of the Wanli Korean War as a means of examining the changes in the tributary system from the late Ming to the early Qing. Since 2017, he has hosted “The International Workshop on the Wanli Korean War” at Shandong University every year, and scholars from China, Japan, and Korea have participated in academic discussions on relevant issues at the workshop. Under his guidance, many graduate students have pursued studies on the Wanli Korean War. As of 2018 at Shandong University, twelve Ph.D. and master’s theses were related to the Wanli Korean War, which indicates that the research team will definitely push the study of the Wanli Korean War to a new level.

In 2007, Sun Weiguo published a book based on his doctoral thesis titled “The Great Ming Flag and the Choson Korean Consciousness of Little China: A Study on the Thoughts of Choson Koreans Respecting the Zhou and Missing the Ming, 1637–1800.”<sup>24</sup> In that work, he explores the ideological origins of the Choson Koreans’ respect for the Ming soldiers and their descendants and the construction and influence of the King Guanwang Temples in Choson Korea. The “grace of rebirth” provided by Emperor Wanli’s assistance to Choson Korea in its defense against the Japanese invasion was one of the most important reasons Choson Koreans paid respect to the Ming. It was the Ming soldiers who built the King Guanwang Temples,

22 陈尚胜 Chen Shangsheng, 《字小与国家利益：对于明朝就朝鲜壬辰倭乱所做反应的透视》 [To Protect the Small and National Interests: A Perspective on the Reaction of the Ming to the Japanese Invading Choson Korea], 《社会科学辑刊》 [Social Science Journal] 1, 2008, pp. 116–123.

23 陈尚胜 Chen Shangsheng, 《壬辰战争之际明朝与朝鲜对日外交的比较：以明朝沈惟敬与朝鲜僧侣四溟为中心》 [Comparison of the Ming Dynasty’s and North Korea’s Diplomacy with Japan during the War of Yuchen: Focusing on Shen Weijing in the Ming Dynasty and the Four Monks of the Korean Monk], 《韩国研究论丛》 [Journal of Korean Studies] 18, 2008, pp. 329–354; 《壬辰御倭战争初期粮草问题初探》 [A Preliminary Study on the Problem of Grain and Grass in the Early Days of the Imjin War], 《社会科学辑刊》 [Social Science Journal] 4, 2012, pp. 174–182.

24 孙卫国 Sun Weiguo, 《大明旗号与小中华意识：朝鲜王朝尊周思明问题研究, 1637–1800》 [The Great Ming Flag and the Choson Korean Consciousness of Little China: A Study on the Thoughts of Choson Koreans Respecting the Zhou and Missing the Ming, 1637–1800], Beijing: 商务印书馆 [The Commercial Press], 2007.

which brought the faith of King Guanwang directly to Choson Korea. Eventually, the faith of King Guanwang became integrated into the political and social life of Choson Korea. At the same time, the concept of respecting the Zhou in Choson Korea meant regarding the Qing as uncivilized barbarians to strengthen the legitimacy of the regime of Choson Koreans, which promoted the Koreanization of the beliefs of King Guanwang. The images of Ming generals such as Shi Xing, Li Rusong, and Yang Gao were reshaped, and their descendants were thus treated with courtesy, and many legends were created. Sun Weiguo discovered many distortions in the historical records of the Ming-Qing dynasties. He pointed out the need to reconsider the process of writing books about the Ming and Qing dynasties from the East Asian perspective. He published a series of papers on the historical status of Yang Gao, Ding Yingtai, and Song Yingchang in the Wanli Korean War.<sup>25</sup> He systematically examined how, because of political interference, the records of the Qing Dynasty were interpreted, and how and why the *Mingshi* and Gu Yingtai's *Mingshi jishi benmo* presented this war as they did. In fact, he shows that the Ming-Qing historical records are seriously inaccurate concerning the Wanli Korean War.

Yang Haiying has long been engaged in the study of military history and characteristics of the Ming and Qing dynasties. She was famous for studying Hong Chengchou in her early years. Recently, she has focused on the southern Ming generals and soldiers in the Wanli Korean War and has published a series of papers on the Ming teachers who trained the Korean army, as well as the military achievements of Luo Shangzhi, Wang Bidi, Wu Weizhong, Wu Zongdao, Mao Guoke, Zhang Yingzhong, and others during the war.<sup>26</sup> She also published a book titled “The Great

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25 孙卫国 Sun Weiguo, 《朝鲜史料视野下的石星及其后人事迹略考》 [A Textual Research on Shi Xing and His Descendant in the Perspective of Korean Historical Materials], 《古代文明》 [The Journal of Ancient Civilization] 4, 2012, pp. 63–72; 《万历援朝战争初期明经略宋应昌之东征及其对东征历史的书写》 [General Song Yingchang in the Early Period of the Ming Eastern Expedition and His Writing of the History of the Ming Eastern Expedition], 《史學月刊》 [Journal of Historical Science] 2, 2016, pp. 39–50; 《清官修〈明史〉对万历朝鲜之役的历史书写》 [The Historical Narrative of the Wanli Korean Campaign in the Qing Official *Ming History*], 《历史研究》 [Historical Research] 5, 2018, pp. 21–37. Sun Weiguo's latest book about this war, titled 《“再造藩邦”之师：万历抗倭援朝明军将士群体研究》 [The Ming Troops of “Rebuilding the Vassal State Choson Korea”: a study on the Military Officers and Groups of the Ming Wanli Armies Resisting the Japanese Aggression and Aiding Choson Korea] is forthcoming.

26 杨海英 Yang Haiying, 《万历援朝战争中的南兵》 [The Ming Southern Soldiers in the Wanli Korean War], 《军事历史研究》 [Journal of Military History] 1, 2016, pp. 16–23.

Wall Outside the Territory: The Yiwu Troops in the Wanli Korean War,”<sup>27</sup> which is the first systematic study published in China on the group of southern Ming soldiers. She focuses on the family relationships of the generals and their social networks by studying historical materials of the Ming-Qing period, such as the official history, the records, notes, genealogies, local records, and essays, to clarify the living conditions of the martial groups within the political dynamics of the Ming period.

Zheng Jiexi is a relatively young scholar primarily concerned with personnel exchanges, intelligence transmission, and Shen Weijing’s activities during the Wanli Korean War. He studied in Japan for many years and is skilled in Japanese materials. As early as 2006, he completed his master’s thesis titled “The Study of the Event of the Ming Borrowing Siam Soldiers during the Imjin War.” In 2011, he obtained a doctoral degree from Kansai University, completing a thesis titled “Research on the History of Sino-Japanese Relations in the Ming Emperor Wanli Period.”<sup>28</sup> In the past decade, he has published a series of papers on issues such as cross-border personnel during the war, including the Siamese, Japanese, Blacks, and other Southeast Asians in the Ming armies, and Ming citizens in the Japanese armies, which show the movement of people in East Asia and Southeast Asia during the Wanli Korean War.<sup>29</sup> At the same time, he published a series of papers on information gathering and foreign policy during the Ming Dynasty, which reflect positive factors and objective environmental constraints to the Ming’s diplomatic strategy. Most of his research results have been included in his monograph “Cross-border Personnel, the Intelligence Network, the Tribute Crisis: The Wanli Korean War and East Asia at the End of the 16th Century,”<sup>30</sup> which is an important representative work of Chinese scholarship in the current century.

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27 杨海英 Yang Haiying, 《域外长城：万历援朝抗倭义乌兵考实》[The Great Wall Outside the Territory: The Yiwu Troops in the Wanli Korean War], Shanghai: 上海人民出版社 [Shanghai Renmin Chubanshe], 2014.

28 鄭潔西 Zheng Jiexi, 『明代万曆時期の中日関係史の研究』[Research on the History of Sino-Japanese Relations in the Ming Emperor Wanli Period], Ph.D. degree thesis, Kansai University, 2011.

29 郑洁西 Zheng Jiexi, 《万历朝鲜之役前后的在日明朝人》[The Ming People in Japan before and after the Wanli Korean War], 《唐都学刊》[Tangdu Academic Journal] 2, 2009, pp. 80–83.

30 郑洁西 Zheng Jiexi, 《跨境人员、情报网络、封贡危机：万历朝鲜战争与16世纪末的东亚》[Cross-border Personnel, the Intelligence Network, the Tribute Crisis: The Wanli Korean War and East Asia at the End of the 16th Century], Shanghai: 上海交通大学出版社 [Shanghai Jiaotong University Press], 2017.

Lo Lee-hsin, a professor at Chung Hsing University, has been representative of scholarship in Taiwan during the early twenty-first century. Her research on the Wanli Korean War focuses on Japanese armies, and especially on the location, construction, and internal structure of Japanese castles, showing that Japanese castles played a major role in Japanese military activities.<sup>31</sup> She has also studied reports claiming that high-ranking Japanese generals prohibited harm to the Korean people, but Japanese soldiers were still arbitrarily killing Koreans and even cutting off the Koreans' ears and noses.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, she explores the captured Choson Korean people's life in Japan, the dissemination of production techniques, culture, and art, et cetera, as well as the issue of religious communication in the era of great navigation. She is interested in the actions of Catholics and Western missionaries in the Japanese army as well as the contacts between Koreans and missionaries. She discusses the role of Japanese and Korean monks in diplomatic negotiations; she has also studied the issues of wartime epidemic prevention measures, medical methods, and intelligence networks formed through people's cross-border exchanges from the perspective of medical history.

Puk Wing-kin, a professor at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, has also been actively involved in research on the Wanli Korean War in recent years. He has published two papers, adopting the perspective of traditional Ming political history to study the wartime decisions of the high-level officials in the Ming court, as well as the political struggles between the party advocating war and the party advocating peace.<sup>33</sup>

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31 羅麗馨 Lo Lee-hsin,《豐臣秀吉侵略朝鮮期間日軍在朝鮮半島之築城：以日本史料為核心》[City Walls Built in Korea by Invading Japanese Troops in the 1590s: Focusing on Japanese Historical Materials],《漢學研究》[Chinese Studies] 30 (4), 2012, pp. 93–132;《萬曆朝鮮戰爭：日軍之戰術》[Japanese Tactics during the Korean War in the Ming Dynasty],《明代研究》[Ming Studies] 28, 2017, pp. 65–88.

32 羅麗馨 Lo Lee-hsin,《豐臣秀吉侵略朝鮮期間日軍在朝鮮半島的殺掠及朝鮮俘虜在日本的生活》[Toyotomi Hideyoshi's Pillage in Korean Peninsula and the Lives of Korean Prisoners in Japan],《國立政治大學歷史學報》[The Journal of History] 39, 2013, pp. 93–143. The third part titled《十六世紀末的朝鮮戰爭》[The Korean War at the End of the 16th Century] in her latest book《十九世紀前的日韓關係與相互認識》[The Japan-Korean Relations and Mutual Understanding before the 19th Century] (Taipei: Ainosco Press, 2020) is a compilation of her studies on this war.

33 卜永堅 Puk Wing-kin,《萬曆朝鮮戰爭第一階段（1592–1593）的明軍：以〈中國明朝檔案總匯〉衛所選簿為中心之考察》[The Ming Army during the First Stage of the Wanli Korean War (1592–1593), An Investigation of the Selected Books of the Guardian System in the *Archives of China's Ming Dynasty*],《明史研究論叢》[Journal of Ming Studies] 12 (1), 2014, pp. 132–141;《十六世紀朝鮮戰爭與明朝中央政治》[Ming Court Politics and the Sixteenth-Century Japanese Invasions of Korea],《明代研究》[Journal of Ming Studies] 28, 2017, pp. 39–64.

Since 2013, he has taught a seminar titled “War and Society” at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, in which he organizes the reading of historical materials and related research works centered on the Wanli Korean War. In December 2016, under his auspices, the Chinese University of Hong Kong and the University of British Columbia in Canada jointly organized “A Workshop on the War in Pre-modern East Asia (1592–1598), Context and Structure.” After the meeting, three papers were published on the “16th Century Korean War” in the *New Asia Institute of Advanced Chinese Studies* (vol. 34).<sup>34</sup> At the same time, he organized the “Special Issue of the Wanli Korean War in the Sixteenth Century” and published four papers in the *Journal of Ming Studies* (vol. 28).<sup>35</sup> The authors of the two columns, from China and other countries, embody international cooperation, which shows that the study of China’s Wanli Korean War has become common to the international academic community.

Chinese scholars studying the Wanli Korean War are far more numerous than those mentioned above. It is impossible to discuss them all in one paper. Publications in China about the Wanli Korean War have made great progress in the past two decades in terms of quantity, quality, depth, and breadth.<sup>36</sup> Many graduate students

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34 卜永堅 Puk Wing-kin, ed., 《十六世紀朝鮮戰爭》專欄 [Special Column on “Korean War in the 16th Century”]: 孫衛國 Sun Weiguo, 《董一元與泗川之役略考》 [Dong Yiyuan and the Battle of Sacheon], pp. 231–258; 洪性鳩 Hong Sung-ku, 《丁酉再亂時期明朝的糧餉海運》 [Ming Maritime Logistics during the Second Stage of the Korea War], pp. 259–284; 許南麟 Hur Nam-lin, 《丁酉再亂時期豐臣秀吉的撤退嘗試與戰爭的終結》 [Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s Effort of Retreat and the Ending of the Korea War], pp. 285–314, 《新亞學報》 [New Asia Institute of Advanced Chinese Studies] vol. 34, 2017.

35 卜永堅 Puk Wing-kin, ed., 《十六世紀朝鮮戰爭》專號 [Special Issue on “Korean War in the 16th Century”]: 劉曉東 Liu Xiaodong, 《“服遠”與“治近”: 嘉靖二十六年明廷的遣明使處置》 [“Pacifying the Distant” and “Managing the Near”: The Ming Court’s Handling of the Japanese Diplomatic Mission in 1547], pp. 1–37; 卜永堅 Puk Wing-kin, 《十六世紀朝鮮戰爭與明朝中央政治》 [Ming Court Politics and the Sixteenth-Century Japanese Invasions of Korea], pp. 40–64; 羅麗馨 Lo Lee-hsin, 《萬曆朝鮮戰爭: 日軍之戰術》 [Japanese Tactics during the Korean War in the Ming Dynasty], pp. 65–88; 中島樂章 Nakajima Gakusho, 郭陽 Guo Yang, trans., 《十六世紀末朝鮮戰爭與九州—東南亞貿易: 以加藤清正の呂宋貿易為中心》 [The Korean War and Kyushu-Southeast Asia Trade in the Late Sixteenth-Century: Katō Kiyomasa’s Conducted Trade in Luzon], pp. 89–120, 《明代研究》 [Journal of Ming Studies] 28, 2017.

36 There are still two important latest books that should be mentioned: 王煜焜 Wang Yukun, 《万历援朝与十六世纪末的东亚世界》 [Wanli Emperor Aid to Korea and the East Asian World at the End of the 16th Century], Shanghai: 上海大学出版社 [Shanghai University Press], 2019; 朱尔旦 Zhu Erdan, 《万历朝鲜战争全史, 1592–1598》 [The Imjin War, 1592–1598], Beijing: 民主与建设出版社 [Democracy and Construction Press], 2020.

have chosen the Wanli Korean War as a thesis topic, and they have studied it from various angles. By 2018, there were eight relevant Ph.D. doctoral theses and sixty-seven master's theses in China on the topic. With so many young students investigating this war, there is a bright future in China for research on the war. At the same time, related popular historical works and novels have also appeared recently. Several works by foreign scholars have been translated into Chinese and published; the Korean classical novel "A Record of the Imjin War" has also been published in China. All this activity shows that the history of the Wanli Korean War is gaining considerable attention.

Generally speaking, since the early 2000s, the study of the Wanli Korean War in China has developed several characteristics. First, many representative scholars have formed a relatively stable team to ensure the continuous research work on this topic.

Second, because of the popularity of databases, research data are relatively easy to obtain. Researchers use not only the historical materials of the Ming and Qing dynasties in China but also data from Choson Korea and Japan. The historical data have become more sufficient in the twenty-first century, and the research level is higher.

Third, various research perspectives, such as new theories and new methods, have been adopted. The methods of new cultural history and post-modern theory have greatly expanded the research horizon. The post-modern perspective of the deconstruction of historical material and historical writing has a place in current scholarship, as do personnel exchanges, economic and trade issues under the global history paradigm, medical history, emotional history, religious exchange research, and so on, from the perspective of new cultural history, thus enhancing academic research.

Fourth, the research of Chinese scholars has been integrated into the international academic scholarship. In the current century, academic exchanges at home and abroad have become more frequent, and Chinese academics have also been following the new approaches. At various international academic conferences, whether in Shandong, Hong Kong, Korea, Canada, or other places, Chinese scholars have become an integral part of any gathering where scholars of various countries have in-depth discussions and exchange ideas, thus forming a trend of international cooperation.



#### IV. An Evaluation and a Brief Summary

Throughout this review of research on the Wanli Korean War in China during the past hundred years, several outstanding features have emerged.

First, many changes in interpretations of the research data have taken place, including a wider perspective on the war from the domestic to the international, from China to Asia and beyond. Although the Wanli Korean War was an international war that swept the East Asian world during the Ming and Qing periods, it was long regarded as a rebellion within the Ming Dynasty itself. Scholars in the Ming and Qing periods rarely paid attention to the particularities and the international character of the war because Choson Korea was one of the tributary countries of Ming and Qing China. For quite a long time, reference was made only to the historical materials and related works in China from the Ming and Qing dynasties, and rarely were there references to the historical materials of the Japanese and the Choson Koreans. With the establishment of the modern discipline of professional history in the early twentieth century, a group of specialized historical scholars became the main research force. Wang Chongwu established an academic precedent by conducting research on this subject with the professional consciousness of a modern academic. However, the special historical situation in the first half of the twentieth century, namely, the longstanding threat of Japanese aggression against China, influenced academic research on this war. In addition, in the 1950s, political resistance outweighed academic pursuits. Rigorous academic research began after China's reformation and opening-up. At that time, because it was not easy to access historical materials abroad, Wu Han's "Chinese Historical Materials in the Records of the Choson Korean Dynasty" were of great importance and convenience for researchers studying the war. Since the early 2000s, because of the popularization of electronic resources, a group of scholars with strong professional literacy have been able not only to make extensive use of the materials from China, Japan, and Choson Korea but also to expand their research topics and to have an Asian perspective of "seeing China from its periphery." Now there is also a global historical perspective, which greatly advances research on this topic.

Second, the publications during the past century have increased in length and substance from short articles to various carefully researched books and even multivolume sets. Initially, there were a few simple records about the Wanli Korean War.



Because of the influence of the party struggles in the Ming court, there were many mistakes in “The Veritable Records of the Emperor Ming Shengzong.” The historians who wrote the Qing official history book *Mingshi* deliberately engaged in misinterpretation, devaluation, and obliteration to extensively wipe out the achievements of Ming generals and soldiers. Wang Chongwu was the first modern academic to study this war. He used Choson Korean historical materials to successfully correct mistakes in the records and books written during the Ming and Qing dynasties. For a long time, scholars mainly used special research papers. Even though some of these works analyzed this war, most of them used narrative history. During the 1960s and 1970s, Li Guangtao compiled several books in Taiwan that used historical materials. After the 1980s, the number of researchers increased, and many of them published articles. After the turn of the twenty-first century, a group of scholars contributed their own unique perspectives, mostly based on special studies. Although several monographs have been published, they focus only on certain aspects of the war. Most of the existing research focuses on the situation of the Ming soldiers on the battlefield. Not much attention has been paid to the situation of the Japanese army and the Choson Koreans. Such publications rarely rely on direct dialogue with the Japanese, Koreans, and Westerners because most of these researchers have not fully understood their research perspective. This situation must change. Although there have been several popular publications, so far, no Chinese book has provided a comprehensive, systematic, and in-depth study of this war. Compared with academic achievements in Japanese and Korean academic circles, there is still a big gap in Chinese scholarship.

Third, as for the researchers, they have gradually developed diverse perspectives on Chinese history, drawn from personal hobbies and team research. In the early twentieth century, such original researchers as Wang Chongwu and Li Guangtao mostly centered their attention on the study of the Wanli Korean War from the perspective of Ming and Qing history. They focused their studies on the Ming and Qing dynasties and the activities of Ming generals and soldiers. Subsequently, a few researchers began to view this subject from the historical perspectives of Korea and Japan. Since the early 2000s, academic circles have included researchers who have grown up in China as well as those who have studied in Japan and Korea. More importantly, research teams have come to reflect the multidisciplinary nature of some professors’ research. The development of a series of research projects on the war is the embodiment of such teamwork. With the convenient communication of information, Chinese academics have become integrated into international academic circles,

and it is common for Chinese scholars to host and attend international academic conferences. The development of this situation is definitely pushing the study of the Wanli Korean War to a new level.

In short, after nearly one hundred years of development, especially since the early twenty-first century, the Chinese academic community has made considerable progress in the study of the Wanli Korean War, but problems remain. So far, no Chinese monograph has comprehensively, systematically, and thoroughly expounded on the causes, processes, and influences of this war. We still need to work hard to make up for this shortcoming.

## 百年来の中国における万暦朝鮮の役（文禄・慶長の役） 研究の回顧

孫 衛国\*

この百年来、中国における万暦朝鮮の役（文禄・慶長の役）研究は、「軽視」から「大いに重視」へ、深く政治的干渉を受けた研究から厳密な学術研究へ、明の参戦を中心とする研究から多様な東アジア的視点から戦争の包括的理解を目指す研究へと変化してきた。研究成果は主として学術論文として発表されており、体系的な学術書はさほど多くない。さらに、長い期間にわたる学術的関心の欠如から、研究成果も主として史実の叙述と史料の羅列であった。しかし21世紀に入ってからこの分野の研究者が増加し、中国、日本、朝鮮・韓国三国の史料を幅広く活用し、東アジアの諸視点と新しい文化史の方法を用い、包括的にこのテーマの調査を進めることで、国際的な学術研究の一翼を担うようになった。

キーワード：万暦朝鮮の役、文禄・慶長の役、中国朝鮮関係史、  
明王朝

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## Western-Language Studies of Japanese Heritage

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Over the past several decades, the number of sites, objects, and practices that have been deemed heritage has increased dramatically across the globe and, likewise, the number of heritage studies. Western-language studies of Japanese heritage have focused on questions of identity, power, the state, and tourism. These questions must be understood in terms of heritagization's transnational nature. Based on Western-language, primarily English, studies, this review examines recent research on Japanese heritage. Much research has focused on museums and castles, but “intangible heritage” and “negative heritage” are also important. Heritage studies is not a coherent research field. Informed by anthropology, history, geography, art history, literary studies, and other disciplines, heritage studies probes what lies behind cultural expressions and illuminates power relations.

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Over the past several decades, the number of sites, objects, and practices that have been deemed heritage has increased dramatically across the globe and, likewise, the number of heritage studies. Heritage studies is a field of research that has developed from older disciplines: anthropology, geography, sociology, and history, as well as

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built environment, landscape, and leisure and tourism studies. This is not to mention the fields of art history and conservation, museum studies, historiography and memory, literature, theatre, folklore, religion, and even international relations. Although heritage studies has its own journals, associations, and university programs, it is doubtful whether it is a coherent field with even roughly agreed-upon basic methodologies, questions, and intellectual genealogy. True, its division between theoretical work (academic) and practical work (professional) is typical of many academic fields, and heritage studies does a better job than most of bringing together theory and practice. And true, heritage studies may be well positioned to evolve as an interdisciplinary field at the intersection of traditional disciplines (just as Asian studies has). Nonetheless, its object of research—heritage—is decidedly amorphous and increasingly so.

In the nineteenth century, heritage preservation generally focused on objects and architecture deemed to have a particular aesthetic or historic value. These aesthetic and historical categories were shaped largely by elite men who associated them with national or imperial glory and identity and hoped “heritage” would help civilize and discipline non-elite peoples. As the twentieth century unfolded, however, the scope of heritage expanded to localities, subordinate groups and classes, and indigenous peoples—and also to entire built environments (such as villages and urban districts), landscapes small and large (a rock, mountain ranges, fields, vast sections of the oceans) and to traditional crafts, practices, and rituals. The rise of such “intangible heritage” in the second half of the twentieth century potentially leaves nothing out. Everything has the potential to become heritage.

The question “whose heritage?” is always up for debate, and the question “who decides?” is even more prickly. Heritage is the subject of numerous legal regimes, each with its own standards for granting official heritage status. Individual nations and the United Nations (through the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, or UNESCO) do so, as do local regimes. However, “heritage” has two broader senses. First, heritage is whatever can be conceived as heritage, with or without official status. For example, Shinto shrines in Japan, while sometimes protected in certain ways, by and large have no official heritage status; but they are, in some cases, seen as similar to Buddhist temples that *do* have official heritage status.<sup>1</sup> Second,

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1 Some Shinto shrines are incorporated into larger heritage complexes; for example, recognized Buddhist temple grounds or the UNESCO World Heritage site “Sacred Sites and Pilgrimage Routes in the Kii Mountain Range” on the Kii Peninsula.

“heritage” is often used in a metaphorical sense to describe collective memory and tradition.

Studies of heritage in Japan revolve around the major issues found in most other works on heritage. (This may indicate a greater coherency to the field of heritage studies than I suggested above.) While there is little agreement among scholars of heritage on what constitutes heritage—most seem willing to grant that heritage is anything that anybody deems as heritage—scholars do generally agree that it is a modern phenomenon.<sup>2</sup> Certain kinds of heritage work certainly existed before the modern era—ranging from the collection of artifacts and curiosities to the transgenerational property of families or clans (heritage as inheritance). But the generalized sense of group identification with the past as mediated or prompted by objects, practices, and landscapes of memory can scarcely be found before the late eighteenth century. The central questions of heritage studies include the following: Whose heritage are we talking about—that is, who is constructing heritage for what purposes, and who may be challenging the “authorized heritage discourse”?<sup>3</sup> What is the state’s role in promoting (or suppressing) heritage—and to what extent is the process of heritagization best conceived as top-down, bottom-up, or some combination of the two? Should scholars focus on deconstructing heritage as a form of mythmaking categorically distinct from history writing (whatever history’s own mythical properties), or should they emphasize the social functions and perhaps deeper truths of heritage?<sup>4</sup> How do people live with heritage—benefiting or suffering from it spiritually, socially, politically, and economically? A final theoretical and methodological question cannot yet be answered, if it ever will be: given that each individual case of

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2 That is, the self-conscious conflation of heritage and identity, closely related to the rise of the modern nation-state and the losses associated with industrialization and population increases, but perhaps more profoundly found in the post-Enlightenment sense that we *are* in some sense our past, mark heritage as a modern phenomenon. See inter alia David Lowenthal, “Identity, Heritage, and History,” in John R. Gillis, ed., *The Politics of National Identity*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994, pp. 41–57. For claims that a concept of heritage is temporally deeper, and indeed universal, see David C. Harvey, “Heritage Pasts and Heritage Presents: Temporality, Meaning and the Scope of Heritage Studies,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* vol. 7, no. 4, 2001, pp. 319–338. However, in my view, while it is true that all societies situate themselves vis-à-vis the past in some way, if we treat heritage as something more than memory-stories and traditional practices, it is a distinctively modern phenomenon.

3 Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage*, London: Routledge, 2010.

4 Christoph Brumann, “Heritage Agnosticism: A Third Path for the Study of Cultural Heritage,” *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale* vol. 22, no. 2, 2014, pp. 173–188.

heritigization will answer the questions above in a unique way, how can we reach useful conclusions about heritage in larger settings (such as Japan), and should we even try? “Heritage” in the sense these questions raise is, outside of Europe, a translated term. In Japan, then, heritage is not only an aspect of modernity but also, in a sense, an imported one. This essay discusses the following English-language monographs, as well as selected articles in English and French, in order to consider these questions.

Alice Y. Tseng, *The Imperial Museums of Meiji Japan: Architecture and the Art of the Nation*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008.

Noriko Aso, *Public Properties: Museums in Imperial Japan*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014.

Hyung Il Pai, *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013.

Oleg Benesch and Ran Zwigenberg, *Japan's Castles: Citadels of Modernity in War and Peace*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.

Tze May Loo, *Heritage Politics: Shuri Castle and Okinawa's Incorporation into Modern Japan, 1879–2000*, Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2014.

Natsuko Akagawa, *Heritage Conservation in Japan's Cultural Diplomacy: Heritage, National Identity and National Interest*, London: Routledge, 2015.

While I cannot here pursue comparative questions, it may be that heritigization in Japan is distinguished, first, by the state's dominant role from the 1870s to 1945, even while Japanese heritage was subject to contestation (as heritage always is). Second, heritage in postwar Japan may have been especially contested because of conflicting views of the Pacific War and questions of war guilt. Today, Japan is a major power in what might be called the global heritage competition for tourist dollars, and it has shaped the global heritage regime. In particular, Japanese diplomacy is largely responsible for the centrality of “intangible heritage” in UNESCO designations. Heritage, however, continues to refer both to informal or unofficial heritage practices and to officially designated heritage at the level of states and localities as much as to the coveted World Heritage status bestowed by UNESCO. Much Western-language scholarship focuses on what might be called heritage problems. First, how top-down heritigization suppresses marginal voices, but equally how those voices nonetheless

challenge official heritage and sometimes produce their own. And second, how the business of heritage tourism provides economic benefits for some but harms the quality of life for others and even risks destroying the heritage it is ostensibly designed to preserve.

## Making Heritage, Museums, and Colonial Spaces

After coming to power in 1868, the new Meiji government moved with astonishing speed in passing legislation to protect antiquities. As extensive historical scholarship recounts, early missions to Western countries during the late Tokugawa had already noted the importance of national museums in Europe and the United States. Meiji authorities had also become worried about Westerners in Japan buying and exporting artworks. Such artworks symbolized Japan's high culture, even if their value in this sense was first suggested by foreign interest in them. Japan's first Plan for the Protection of Antiquities of 1871 (Koki Kyūbutsu Hozonkata) was designed to preserve and prevent the export of thirty-one movable objects. Such legislation was among the first of its type in the world, preceding Britain's Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1882. The legislation was passed on the eve of rapid Westernization and at a time when Buddhism was under attack and much of the heritage of the Tokugawa was dismissed as useless "feudal" detritus. (Daimyo castles, today central to Japanese heritage, were either abandoned or turned into military garrisons, for example.)<sup>5</sup> A concern with antiquities at this time thus seems incongruous, as most people seemed to be looking firmly to the future, not the past. But the Meiji government is not unique in its efforts to preserve aspects of the past, even or especially at the price of ossifying such those aspects, and just as it awakened to their disappearance.<sup>6</sup> This seeming incongruity aside, Meiji policies to protect aspects of the past, even amid tumultuous change and disdain for the past, may have contributed to the later essentialized conception of Japan as uniquely able to assimilate foreign cultures

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5 Oleg Benesch, "Castles and the Militarisation of Urban Society in Imperial Japan," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* vol. 28, 2018, pp. 107–134; see also Benesch and Zwigenberg, *Japan's Castles*, chap. 3.

6 Another case is that of late Qing China, where elites, alarmed by the loss of artworks abroad, began to agitate for preservation laws and the construction of museums. See Peter Zarrow, "Notes on Heritage and Memory in Modern China," *Monumenta Serica: Journal of Oriental Studies* (forthcoming).

while remaining indisputably Japanese.<sup>7</sup> Modern Japanese heritage thus emerged well before the mid-Meiji conservative reaction against Westernization. Yet in its headlong rush to industrialize the economy and centralize the polity, the Meiji government, while constructing an emperor-centered and Shintoized past, disdained actual Tokugawa heritage and often sought to suppress local traditions. Thus such heritage as practiced in the early Meiji did not stem primarily from a sense of loss or even the need to provide elements of stability in a turbulent time, but was rather a pragmatic response to the foreign threat.

Artworks, whether or not a matter of national pride, were certainly a tool of late nineteenth-century international diplomacy. The Meiji government sent objects abroad, participating in world fairs to show Japanese art and culture to foreigners who would not be visiting Japan. From today's vantage, one can see the roots of a sense of heritage in the dialectic between global consumers and Japanese producers providing everything from ancient Buddhist statues to exquisite paper-making (objects, but equally fitting the category of "intangible cultural heritage" in today's terms). Designed to meet international standards as well as appeal to local visitors, Japan's first modern, Western-style museum was established in 1872.<sup>8</sup> The neologism *hakubutsukan* (literally "building for spreading knowledge through artifacts") was used to label this new institution.<sup>9</sup> A vibrant exhibitionary culture had existed throughout the Tokugawa period, but the modern museum was more clearly demarcated from everyday life, open to the public, and designed to encourage mass education and disseminate popular knowledge, especially the bases of scientific knowledge. What is today known as the Tokyo National Museum featured displays both of natural history and of fine art. It is worth noting that the museum displayed Chinese and Korean works, as well as Japanese, including antiquities such as ancient wall paintings, steles, wine vessels, and other objects outside the category of fine arts.

Japan formally established three "imperial museums" in Nara, Kyoto, and Tokyo

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7 The adoption of Confucianism and Buddhism in ancient and medieval Japan is a standard trope. Looking at the modern era, in Marilyn Ivy's phrasing: "Crossing boundaries of race and region, of temporalities and territories established at the foundation of the modern world system, installed everywhere with its enormous reserves of capital, 'Japan' appears ubiquitous, nomadic, transnational. Yet at the same time Japan seems to reinscribe the distinction ever more sharply between the 'West' and itself." Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995, p. 5.

8 Aso, *Public Properties*, pp. 13–15.

9 Ibid., p. 14.



in 1889—the year that the Meiji emperor promulgated the constitution.<sup>10</sup> That Meiji leaders hoped imperial museums would help create modern subject-citizens is clear from the timing. The original notion was that each museum would reflect the historical background of its locality, with Japan's most ancient objects displayed in Nara, the eighth-century imperial capital; objects from the ninth to the eighteenth centuries placed in Kyoto, the subsequent imperial capital; and objects from the Tokugawa period (1600–1868) and from other parts of Asia exhibited in Tokyo, the shogunal capital and the capital of the new Japanese nation. Meanwhile, through the early Meiji period, Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines—with their art collections—were increasingly open to the public on a regular basis instead of only open specific occasions and even then keeping most of their property off-limits. One reason for this move was to raise money locally, but a deeper cultural transformation was also at work. New legal issues emerged as well. The ownership of statues and paintings was no longer clear. Were they owned by monks or priests, or a temple association, or in some sense the nation as a whole?

Japan's second major antiquities measure, the Law for the Preservation of Ancient Shrines and Temples (Koshaji Hozon Hō), was passed in 1897. This law acknowledged the importance of both architecture and objects for what we now call national heritage. The term that came to be used was “National Treasure” (*kokuho*), still used for official lists today. National treasures were to manifest Japanese history, to display exemplary importance or craft skills, or to have been associated with an imperial visit. These goals were further spelled out in the 1919 Law for the Preservation of Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty, and Natural Monuments (Shiseki Meishō Tennen Kinenbutsu Hozon Hō). In sum, during the Meiji era's first decades, leaders realized the importance of heritage for foreign tourism as well as the role it could play in fostering Japanese identity, a sense of the past, and especially a personal connection with the emperor. By the 1880s the government was undertaking national surveys to find National Treasures.

Two excellent monographs emphasize the state's role in the imperial period. Alice Y. Tseng focuses on museum architecture and Noriko Aso on the creation of a national aesthetic in museums. Both point to the importance that Japan's leaders, facing foreign threats, placed on creating a modern nation-state as quickly as possible. Tseng argues that—unlike the case in postrevolutionary France—Japan's new

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10 Tseng, *The Imperial Museums of Meiji Japan*.

“national art” could not be formed out of a preexisting imperial collection but rather had to be built from a variety of secular and religious sources. Her study focuses on four main buildings. Tseng describes how Japan’s first *hakubutsukan* was built in Ueno Park in Tokyo to show exhibitions of Japan’s natural and human-made products, takes us through museum-building in Kyoto and Nara, and concludes with Ueno’s Hyōkeikan Art Museum, founded at the beginning of the twentieth century. Early Meiji leaders were building a new nation by teaching the Japanese about their art historical lineage. In this larger nation-building aim, they also needed foreigners to understand Japanese artifacts as “art” (*bijutsu* was the neologism coined in 1872), on par with Western art, rather than mere crafts. Tseng situates her work in the understanding that Japanese art was a concept and category “institutionalized, canonized, and standardized under the auspices of the Meiji bureaucracy through the joint enterprises of the museum, the exposition, and the academy.”<sup>11</sup> The concept also became a major ingredient of Japan’s collective history and identity. Tseng rightly emphasizes that the “state” was by no means a unified entity; nevertheless, she states, “The Imperial Museums were very much a part of the Meiji state’s self-representation as novel and progressive, although dealing directly with the matter of the nation’s cultural heritage required a more nuanced treatment that attempted to harmonize modern innovation with the ancient origins being celebrated and preserved.”<sup>12</sup> The Meiji government hired the Englishman Josiah Conder as a kind of chief state architect in the late 1870s, and he directed the building of the *hakubutsukan* using masonry construction new to Japan and at least partly based, Tseng shows, on the South Kensington Museum. She also reminds us that its construction was simultaneous with that of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston in the United States. Heritagization in Japan, we note again, was not a global laggard.

Conder was to become teacher to a later generation of Japanese architects who designed many of the buildings during the mid-Meiji and later periods—Tseng shows that to simply call their work “Western” is misleading. Museums not only repositioned the function and therefore even the essence of objects (from ritual item to art, for example) and thus turned them into heritage, but museums themselves became architectural heritage. That heritage may survive even when the original buildings do

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11 Ibid., p. 11.

12 Ibid., p. 16.

not. (In fact, three Meiji-era museums are today designated Important Cultural Properties.) Tseng emphasizes that the new Meiji museums were designed by Western architects and by Japanese architects trained in Western design, although with the addition of Japanese symbols, such as the rising sun flag and the chrysanthemum crest now associated with the imperial throne. It might seem odd to use essentially Western architecture to house Japanese artifacts, but at least in the late Meiji, Japan's rulers used public architecture to lay claims to global equivalence and modernity; these buildings were not imitations of either the West or Japanese tradition.

Heritage, however, involved more than museums. The need to recall or recreate historical memory and identity led to particular value being placed on the entire Nara-Kyoto region with its hundreds of temples, palaces, and mausoleums. With the emperor's move to Tokyo in 1868, Kyoto's status was diminished. Kyoto's rebranding after the Restoration, so to speak, depended on making it both a repository of tradition and a site of living culture, particularly of the arts. This did not mean that Kyoto or even Nara would be sheltered from the tides of Westernization. Still, the former capitals began to function as a kind of vast open-air museum or heritage park. By the late twentieth century, the entire Nara-Kyoto region would officially become a heritage site, with numerous temples and shrines as well as several landscapes and castles listed as World Heritage sites.

The roots of the Nara-Kyoto region's heritagization, Tseng shows, lay in early Meiji thinking about what we might call the geography of heritage. There was no doubt about Tokyo's new preeminence, but by the time the Constitution was promulgated in 1889, "The new Japan was being defined as much by its myth-historic origins as by its modernizing objectives, and the two capitals were to be two faces of the same coin—Tokyo representing the secular, progressive countenance of Japan, and Kyoto representing its sacred, historical countenance."<sup>13</sup> Given not only Kyoto's imperial past but also its vast collection of palaces, shrines, temples, and mausoleums, it was a natural heritage site, but it was also, Tseng emphasizes, to host new, modern educational institutions and industrial factories.<sup>14</sup> By no means was Kyoto as a whole to

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13 Ibid., p. 95.

14 Tseng's newer work highlights how Kyoto was maintained—or rebranded—as a symbol of the imperial presence through a historical reconstruction process that featured new monumental architecture and urban renewal projects as much as preservation schemes. Alice Y. Tseng, *Modern Kyoto: Building for Ceremony and Commemoration, 1868–1940*, Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2018.

become an ossified “museum.” As for the Imperial Kyoto Museum, after various design debates, its architecture combined Japanese elements with a basically European-classical design and a special entrance and throne room for the emperor’s visits (although the emperor never in fact visited). Proposals to build a more traditional structure, perhaps of wood, did not make it very far. One can read the final museum design as a triumph of Westernization, or one can read it as a claim to modernity and the global vocabulary of European classicism in public architecture. The Imperial Nara Museum was also designed as a classical—and hence modern—piece of architecture that stood out from its neighboring shrines and temples. That said, one can ask if Nara itself, with little economic activity outside of tourism, has been museumified.

Tseng’s study of the twinned stories of the evolution of Meiji museums and the emergence of “art” (*bijutsu*) as a stable cultural category helps us to also think about heritage. These developments imply a distinction between heritage that is inalienable (museum buildings, the art placed in them under the control of curators) and heritage that can be sold and is hence deemed a lesser form of heritage, or perhaps not heritage at all. It is also significant that if the Meiji government’s was the final voice in what counted as heritage, other voices—art critics, historians, local politicians—began to be heard as well.

Noriko Aso’s *Public Properties* emphasizes the effects of shifting conceptions of Japan’s imperial image at the end of the nineteenth century. Beginning in the 1890s, museums came to be classified as “imperial,” a category that was “being redefined at the time to serve as a mediating buffer in negotiating the boundaries between state and society and public and private.” At the same time, Aso states, “state cultural authority was personalized in the figure of the emperor and his immediate relations, veiling an emergent canon under majesty not to be impolitically scrutinized.”<sup>15</sup> But Japan’s museum-building, broadly defined, was not limited to state projects in its major cities but included numerous private ventures and even department store exhibitions and colonial museums. Although the Meiji state certainly wished to “educate” a new kind of citizen-subject or public, Aso emphasizes the diversity of the publics (plural) that also formed in a bottom-up, though not necessarily oppositional, process: “publicness was, and is, historically negotiated.”<sup>16</sup> Heritage was only one

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15 Aso, *Public Properties*, p. 3.

16 Ibid., p. 222.

concern of Meiji leaders, and in spite of the early turn to preservation laws, they looked largely to museums and, at least through the 1870s, expositions, to highlight Japan's natural resources and, especially, its economic products, both traditional crafts and new industrial manufactures. Asō shows that the balance shifted to various artifacts and "art" during the 1880s precisely as these objects were put under the control of the Imperial Household Ministry and reclassified as imperial property. We might thus conclude that this is how national heritage and the imperial house became inextricably linked. This move created a radically new set of property rights, neither private nor precisely public. Nonetheless, it did not mark Meiji leaders' first interest in heritage. Asō also cites government findings from as early as 1871 stressing the need to preserve antiquities not only for the sake of educating the people and not only in terms of the international rivalry noted above but also to "serve as the basis for social scientific narratives of historical, technological, and economic development, which were in turn necessary to write Japan into the modern world . . . an elite heritage collection."<sup>17</sup>

Of course, museums required a specific kind of public. Unlike visitors to outdoor expositions, museums demanded order and quiet (no clogs, no dogs, no touching). Asō insists that such regulations should not be regarded as exclusive but inclusive, although only as long as visitors could follow the rules. Opening in the evenings allowed workers to visit. On the one hand, visitors found artifacts selected for their aesthetic value or historical significance, as in any heritage regime; on the other hand, these objects now possessed a powerful imperial imprimatur. Throughout Japan, protected sites such as burial mounds were not only saved from being paved over but also imbued with sacrality. Asō concludes, "Imperialization represented a form of appropriation, from common-use forests lands to heritage artifacts, that was often difficult to contest, because its rationalization in the name of greater good simultaneously encompassed and disavowed both state and public."<sup>18</sup>

Indeed, beneath Japan's official narratives, individuals and organizations built regional and less elitist exhibitionary cultures through private museums and department stores. By the 1920s, these included museums of European art and of Japanese folk art and crafts. They also included, under the direction of banking heir Shibusawa Keizō, specialized museums such as those dedicated to fishing, literature, toys,

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17 Ibid., pp. 67–68.

18 Ibid., p. 93.

farmhouses, and the like—the living heritage of the people. Aso argues that the private museum-builders were motivated by no less than “reimagining the public in relation to state and society.”<sup>19</sup> This was perhaps more an effect than a conscious goal, but certainly the popularization of heritage was a challenge to state and imperial monopolization of heritage claims. Department stores, with their luscious displays of consumer goods and special exhibitions and concerts, did not challenge the state directly, but they broadened access to cultural knowledge. Such knowledge was meant to be consumed as a marker of social status and pleasure rather than passively observed and appreciated. As public spaces designed to display items to their best effect, department stores and museums shared a number of features. Department store exhibitions overlapped with the national museums in presenting canonical works, but also featured the works of contemporary arts and crafts (that were, mostly, within the reach of the average consumer). Aso is not concerned with whether this can be considered heritage, but insofar as artists and craftworkers (a distinction that need not detain us here) were working within traditions and speaking to those traditions, a heritage perspective remains useful. Indeed, Aso shows, sales were often regarded as a way to keep heritage alive. In the postwar years, both department stores and museums—now “national” museums rather than imperial—continued to flourish as Japan rebuilt itself as a “culture nation” (*bunka kokka*). In addition to rewriting Japanese heritage as peaceful and artistic rather than martial, Japan’s leaders used the 1964 Olympics to display “national treasures” and reclaim Japan’s position in world artistic heritage.

In her discussion of Japan’s colonial museums in Taiwan and Korea, Aso emphasizes Japan’s claims to a civilizing mission and, at best, an ambivalent judgment on the worth of native heritage. To my mind, these institutions highlight the ambiguous status of peoples who were colonial subjects but also identified as foreign national subjects.<sup>20</sup> Artifacts from the colonies were also, of course, imported to Japan licitly and illicitly, publicly and privately. In the public realm, they contributed to a heritage

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19 Ibid., p. 165.

20 Of course, these identity issues worked out very differently in Taiwan and Korea, where Japan wished to celebrate but also control the ancient historical ties between the lands that became Korea and Japan. Nonetheless, the potential of the notion of a “Great East Asia” heritage that would have developed in some tension with national heritage, even Japan’s national heritage, is worth further consideration, as is how local peoples “consumed” their distinct heritage as it was being curated by Japanese overlords.

story of the Japanese empire's expansion.

Hyung Il Pai's *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan* examines the complex story of heritagization in Korea under the Japanese. Both the Japanese and Korean states have devoted considerable resources to heritage management and heritage tourism. Pai traces the roots of the modern Korean sense of heritage to Japan's heritage scholarship and institutions, which in many ways developed in parallel to the museums discussed above. The central story propagated by the Japanese state was simple: ancient Korea and Japan were one race (as confirmed by archaeology), then they were separated, and now they were merged again. Pai focuses on archaeology and the heritage drive to delve into the deeper and deeper past. From the nineteenth through most of the twentieth century, heritage tended to be either nationalist or imperialist. It was defined and, in a sense, claimed by the imperialist powers, as suggested in part by the general shift from early amateur reports by soldiers and missionaries to professional surveys conducted by architects and art historians. I would add that while racist and Orientalist scholars of the metropole treated colonial heritage as inferior, it could nonetheless provide a basis for native identity that would eventually work against the colonizing power. And this heritage, which could not be "our" (metropole) heritage, was often redefined as global heritage in the late twentieth century, contributing to a sense of global identity, however embryonic.

Be that as it may, Pai's point is that unearthed artifacts did indeed contribute to national stories: "The identification and ownership of art and artifacts recovered from the ground, therefore, have been and remain to this day the most contested symbols of nationhood. Thus, for more than two centuries the empirical search for a 'unique' prehistoric past and an unbroken ethnic and cultural continuity is the most powerful impetus for archaeological and ethnographic field surveys around the world."<sup>21</sup> Pai emphasizes the importance of not only the loss of antiquities as a spur to Japan's new heritage policies but also the search for "sacred relics"—especially the physical remains of tombs—that would back up the imperial myth. As early as the 1870s, the government promulgated laws to preserve newly discovered tombs from desecration and to manage excavations under the control of the Imperial Household Ministry. Pai cites a report from 1900 that reveals leaders' concerns:

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21 Pai, *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan*, p. xxix.

Since the Meiji Restoration, it has come to our attention that our ancient remains are being threatened with imminent destruction by the daily expansion of infrastructure and transportation. The construction of roads, railroads, canals, and factory buildings are cutting down mountains and forests on a daily basis. Henceforth, in order not to lose our precious memories of the past, we must figure out how best to preserve against further destruction of sacred imperial remains that have been passed down for generations. As we know, countries in Europe and America have had more than a century of preservation laws to guide the preservation of ancient remains, and it is now time for us to do the same. Therefore, we must organize our old national records, and authenticate the locations of the remains of our imperial ancestral burials, heroes, filial sons, patriots, and famous clans in order to uphold and show respect for our imperial identity [*kokutai*]. We want to restore our imperial remains so that we will not be ashamed when foreign tourists come to visit our country. The purpose of this committee is to create and preserve beautiful sites for eternity to promote our great ancestral achievements and their morals embodying filial piety, loyalty, and patriotism. Our preservation efforts will create a sense of national landscape [*kokufū*] and encourage the moral education of our citizens [*fūkyō*]. Our duty as citizens is to uphold the imperial lineage [*ōtō*] embodied in our imperial remains and burials so that the authority of the imperial household that has lasted for ten thousand generations will continue to shine on for eternity.<sup>22</sup>

Archaeology and historical research gave rise to a dilemma, however, although one that could not be directly addressed at the time. The evidence suggested that the “Yamato race” and the imperial house originated on the Asian mainland and thus could not claim Japanese territorial indigeneity. One solution was simply to stress the Yamato triumph on the Japanese islands by a conquest-through-charisma supposedly seen in the ancient ritual artifacts unearthed by modern archaeologists.<sup>23</sup> This contradiction notwithstanding, Yamato origins on the mainland and migration via Korea at least marked the race’s distinction from the Ainu. Critically, the Meiji government prohibited proper excavations of imperial burial mounds and restricted archaeological research. Scholars thus looked for sites in Taiwan, China, Inner Asia, and above all

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22 Cited in *ibid.*, pp. 63–64.

23 The notion of conquest through charisma is echoed in the Chinese classics.



Korea. And in Korea, the colonial government sponsored archaeologists and ethnologists.

Pai shows that heritagization processes in modern Japan and Korea were so intertwined as to be inseparable. This was true not only for scholars who wrote about both places but also for the tourism industry. Japanese and foreign tourists were directed to sites in both Japan and Korea, as well as in Manchuria and Taiwan. In the case of Korea, they could explore the New Korea that the Japanese were building and the old Korea, supposedly built by the same race. Japanese visited Korea (sometimes) as part of a spiritual journey that retraced the steps of conquest taken by the emperors of old. Korea may have been considered important merely as a way station for Buddhist art and Chinese architecture on their way to Japan, where they would be refined, but the result was also a distinctively “Korean” prehistory and history. Pai emphasizes that Japan’s prewar myths and ideology that shaped the development of archaeology and heritage continue to influence attitudes today, as “citizens in Japan’s former colonies in China, the two Koreas, and Taiwan also continue to identify with the old platitudes concerning the indigenous, prehistoric origins of distinct races, which they have incorporated into their new nationalistic narratives to explain the ethnic foundations of their respective modern ethnic states. . . . [and thereby] buying into ‘demeaning’ nineteenth-century colonial racial and ethnic stereotypes.”<sup>24</sup> Nonetheless, in my view, it was not that hard for Japan’s story of Korean devolution to become postwar Korea’s story of cultural glory. This narrative adoption explains why Korea frequently demands the return of the numerous artifacts “stolen” by the Japanese from the 1880s onward.

## Heritage, Castles, and Japan-ness

In *Japan’s Castles*, Oleg Benesch and Ran Zwigenberg emphasize the changing functions and symbolism of the country’s well-known avatars and argue for “the centrality of castles to Japan’s modern history” as “tools for crafting identities.”<sup>25</sup> While many castles were left to rot or turned into parks in the 1870s, from the late nineteenth century through the Pacific War others came to symbolize power and, as military garrisons, fostered an “identification” between civilians and the military. After the

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 171.

<sup>25</sup> Benesch and Zwigenberg, *Japan’s Castles*, pp. 2–3.

war, castles came to represent national heritage in a more general sense, especially through a romantic image of the medieval warrior. Benesch and Zwigenberg also emphasize that castles have served as sites of contestation between local and national authorities—associated with local historical figures, castles potentially challenge elements of the imperial or national ideology. Moreover, they provide a legitimate space for civil society to demand or protest government actions concerning castles. This is not to say, however, that either officialdom or civil society ever spoke with one voice, and Benesch and Zwigenberg explore the claims of numerous groups, including Shinto and other religious groups. Finally, the authors also directly analyze complex heritage issues: How should castles be maintained and reconstructed? To what degree should “authenticity” be sought? For whom are castles to be preserved? How are their individual stories to be told? To what extent should we understand Japanese castle heritage as part of a global phenomenon?

*Japan's Castles* is an innovative and fascinating study that speaks to central questions of modern Japanese history. Benesch and Zwigenberg treat as largely symbolic the functions or effects of castles, which tended to dominate the cities and towns that grew around them. That symbolic effect was, however, important: castles were central to the ideologies of militarization until 1945 and of demilitarization after 1945. In addition, when we contrast hard, coercive power to the symbolic, the authors show how castles, turned into military garrisons, aided police in suppressing urban disorder at key moments. As noted above, not all castles survived the early Meiji government's disdain for Tokugawa feudalism; they were also expensive to maintain. Still, by the 1920s, as what we might call key nodes of militarization, castles came to be “celebrated as a unification of modernity and tradition, imperial and local, military and civilian.”<sup>26</sup> Castles have also been subject to constant reconstruction. From a purist point of view, none are purely “authentic,” and even for nonpurists, much reconstruction has been simply horrific. Yet, from another point of view, Japan's castles are living monuments. Related to this point, the authors might have done more to frame the modern history of Japanese castles in terms of forgetting. Heritage is, simply, a set of memory prompts. But precisely as the functions of castles and their very architecture have changed (as Benesch and Zwigenberg show), their actual pasts have also been selectively mythologized and, to a large extent, discarded. That said, the authors convincingly argue for a degree of continuity in the story of Japanese

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26 Ibid., p. 12.

castles across the watersheds of both 1868 and 1945. Above all, castles represent authority and the very idea of continuity itself.

Castles also represent heritage. Though heritage is not the main focus of Benesch and Zwigenberg's book, I highlight in the following paragraphs what they have to say about the topic. They note that Nagoya Castle and Edo Castle were among the first architectural sites to be valued for their historical importance. There was agreement and cooperation on this point among Japanese and Europeans—who were in the midst of restoring their own castles. If the early Meiji government was concerned with the export of artworks, certain elites maintained a broader appreciation of the built heritage. At the same time, early Meiji heritage was less about preserving the past in the face of a rapidly intruding future than it was more deliberately constructed to support the new imperial ideology. The limited castle renovations executed at the time were, therefore, often funded by the Imperial Household Ministry. While Benesch and Zwigenberg emphasize parallels to European uses of medieval castles to shore up the authority of modernizing monarchies, in the larger comparative framework of attitudes toward heritage, Japanese attitudes through the 1870s were distinctively less sentimental and romantic.

Benesch and Zwigenberg argue that the military's takeover of castles, symbolizing authority and allowing troops to easily suppress urban disorder demonstrates the existence of "Taishō militarism" in parallel with "Taishō democracy." The army had little interest in heritage, but local civil groups often did, which might result in a dual-use castle: a garrisoned castle space also opened to the public (for whom historical explanation is provided), allowing reconstruction and preservation work. Other castle sites became parks, often with shrines, under the effective control of local elites or what the authors call "civil society." Castles were also turned into government offices. Castles gradually became symbols both of local pride and of a new national "martial identity" in a process that was, in Benesch and Zwigenberg's view, "largely organic" and lacking in clear governmental policy.<sup>27</sup> Attributing almost mystical powers to castles, the authors claim they "had unique potential for uniting conflicting layers of local, regional, national, imperial, and religious identity, while transcending temporal boundaries between the past, present, and future through the combination of heritage architecture, contemporary memorials, and futuristic displays at industrial, commercial, and later colonial exhibitions." Heritage was but one aspect of castles in modern

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27 Ibid., p. 63.

Japan.

A major turning point in castle heritage—and Japanese culture as a whole—according to Benesch and Zwigenberg, was the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895). Japan’s martial past was rediscovered, and new preservation societies, perhaps ironically, saw the need to protect castles from military as well as civilian rebuilding projects. What Benesch and Zwigenberg show, if not in so many words, is another face of heritage. Japanese understanding of castles evolved from old relics to “prominent symbols of a masculine Japanese culture that united martial and aesthetic elements rooted in the distant past” and contributed to mass mobilization in the 1930s.<sup>28</sup> This transformation reminds us that heritage is living and *useful*: heritage sites, to function properly, should have thousands of visitors who take something away from their visits. (The professional work of historians, by contrast, may have many fewer consumers and need not proclaim its usefulness.) The use of castle sites for various exhibitions also marked their living functions. By the 1910s, considerable professional theorization about castles began to link national purity equally to militarism and to a supposedly unique aesthetics.

Since the postwar period, for all the political conflicts surrounding castles that Benesch and Zwigenberg convincingly describe, Japanese castles have become more ordinary heritage sites: their symbolic importance is still contested but probably less central to national identity, and the discourses surrounding them more prominently feature questions of preservation and authenticity, promote tourism, shape urban development, raise funds, and reclaim local identities. Japanese leaders essentially demilitarized their old castles, and even conservatives reimagined castles as symbols of culture and peace. Of course, that military fortifications could be proclaimed symbols of peace is proof of how flexible heritage can be. Beyond this, Benesch and Zwigenberg tell us, Japanese turned to rebuilding castles in the wake of the Occupation to reconnect with heritage—albeit a heritage that recalled the Edo and early Meiji periods and skipped over the rest. At the same time, the reinvention of castles was a fraught process: “controversy was a hallmark of castle building everywhere. . . . entangled with the larger issues of memory politics.”<sup>29</sup> Some people were concerned with castles’ authenticity even if rebuilding virtually from scratch; others were concerned with erecting something that would simply look like a castle,

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28 Ibid., p. 140.

29 Ibid., p. 277.

preferably with a parking lot and flush toilets; yet others would rather build schools and community halls on available sites. The authors convincingly conclude that the modern history of castles is a story of erasure (and construction) and erasures of earlier erasures. In the late Meiji and Taishō periods, the early Meiji rejection of “samurai feudalism” was erased, while in the postwar period the links between castles and Japanese militarism were erased as a new view of the Tokugawa period (focusing on its culture) was constructed. And in the Heisei period, new castle projects sought to use more “authentic” wood to rebuild Shōwa-era concrete reconstructions. Whether Japan’s castles—and heritage generally—can ever present more complete historical views, the authors do not say.

In *Heritage Politics*, Tze May Loo presents an extensive case study of Shuri Castle, illuminating Okinawa’s long and often painful relationship to Japan proper.<sup>30</sup> The king of the Ryūkyū Kingdom was evicted from the castle in 1879 by the new Meiji authorities, and the islands became Okinawa Prefecture. Loo convincingly argues that Shuri Castle became a symbol of oppression—but also a site where Okinawans could in effect negotiate or attempt to negotiate that relationship. Yet overall, Loo seems to conclude, if not in so many words, that the Okinawans had little success, at least if judged in terms of a desire to forge their identity on their own terms. Rather, they had to use Japanese standards of identity, albeit for their own purposes. Just as the Meiji government had quickly moved to recognize Japan’s national treasures, so the listing of Shuri Castle as “cultural heritage” gave Okinawa a certain status, if still a subordinate one. If I understand Loo correctly, Okinawan claims to citizenship thus represented both agency and self-repression. Meiji practice was to “preserve and appropriate” only certain aspects of Okinawan cultural heritage, claiming them as Japanese. Ironically, the US Occupation of Okinawa after 1945 refocused the target of Okinawan oppositional politics from Japan to the US, which fostered a sense of Japanese identity.

Shuri Castle, Loo suggests, originally symbolized the Ryūkyū Kingdom’s

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30 Loo, *Heritage Politics*.

“quasi-independence” from both China and Tokugawa Japan.<sup>31</sup> (The castle displayed both Chinese and Japanese architectural features.) The Meiji military occupation of the castle erased this earlier significance, but the garrison moved out in 1896. At that point, local elites sought to restore the castle and spoke, in ways familiar at the time, of combining new functions at the site to incorporate a park, leisure activities, a museum, and economic development. They sought, Loo argues, to find a place for Okinawa as a distinctive but equal part of the empire. However, as plans proceeded to build the Okinawa Shrine at the site, the prefecture lacked the funds to restore and maintain the castle, which was thus slated for demolition. Fortunately, no less a figure than the pioneering architect and architectural historian Itō Chūta saved it. At Itō’s urging, the Home Ministry ordered that demolition be stopped and provided funding to preserve the castle. However, Itō also turned the main hall into the shrine’s Worship Hall. Loo argues, Itō’s intervention shows how Japan essentially monopolized knowledge production in Okinawa. Native Okinawans had little voice in the preservation, much less the definition, of their own heritage. In the view of Japanese like Itō, Okinawan culture displayed cosmopolitan Asian influences, but its people were of the Yamato race. Precisely because Okinawans were civilized, they could be brought into the empire. At the same time, in this view, Okinawan culture was at its “base” Japanese and indeed in some respects represented true Japanese cultural practices that had been lost in Japan itself.

In the 1920s and 1930s, the Shuri castle-shrine was the subject of larger competing discourses about assimilation, local traditions, language, and the like. Okinawan civilization was sometimes conceptualized as spiritual rather than materialistic. The new Okinawa Shrine was not very popular, but Japan’s “spiritual mobilization,” Loo shows, allowed Okinawan intellectuals to use the state to protect their own heritage

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31 Loo’s work neglects two important issues, however. First, Loo does not address the extent to which her generalizations about Okinawan opinion apply beyond the views of Okinawan elites and intellectuals; she does point to disagreements among Okinawans themselves about preservation versus development and some identity issues, but generally treats Okinawans as possessing a single voice. Second, if it is true that Shuri Castle represented the independence (if a qualified and balanced independence) of the Ryūkyū Kingdom vis-à-vis China and Japan into the nineteenth century, to what extent did Okinawan memory understand the castle as a symbol of the victors of the fifteenth-century Okinawan wars, repressive in its own way? Loo’s own notion of erasure might come into play here: Shuri Castle soon erased the interisland wars of the various Ryūkyū kingdoms; the Meiji erased the castle’s signification of Ryūkyū’s independence; and the US Occupation erased the Shinto past and to some extent the castle’s Japanese-ness.

to a degree. After the Pacific War, Shuri Castle's history as a Shinto shrine, Loo significantly points out, was largely erased. As Okinawan intellectuals spoke critically of both the US and Japan, there was a certain rewriting of the former Ryūkyū kingdom's history through the discourse of a pre-Satsuma golden age of brave and peaceful traders. After Okinawa was returned to Japan in 1972, advocates cited the need to strengthen Okinawan culture in calling on the national government to rebuild the castle. There was a strong feeling that after Okinawa's mistreatment, Japan should do no less. The rehabilitation of heritage not totally destroyed by the war and of the other islands' heritage took second place. Shuri Castle, then, has come to represent victimization but also resilience for Okinawan identity.<sup>32</sup>

## Intangible Cultural Heritage

Castles, museum artifacts, canonical artworks—these tangible objects have all come to represent Japan's heritage and identity since the Meiji Restoration. But while European heritage was being discovered in monumental constructions—great stone churches, abbeys, and manors—Japan had little comparable architecture, since most building was done in wood, except in the case of castles. Indeed, foreign visitors to Ise Shrine in the early Meiji period, for example, could not decide whether it was new or old. Either way, objects simply could not represent the full range of cultural practices that were constitutive of heritage, as soon as anyone so viewed them. While heritage is generally perishable outside of Europe, Sylvie Guichard-Anguis argues that it was Japan that first moved to protect intangible forms of heritage, building a new legal regime for it in the 1950s and, over the following decades, pushing for UNESCO recognition of its importance.<sup>33</sup> The issue was not entirely new to the postwar period, of course. Jordan Sand points out that Ise Shrine's periodic rebuilding informed Japanese attitudes toward heritage generally.<sup>34</sup> Early in his career, Itō Chūta doubted that a clear line of progress could be traced in Japanese architectural history, but he

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32 Shuri Castle was again destroyed by a fire in October 2019 (after *Heritage Politics* was published). The Japanese government and UNESCO have both announced support for rebuilding; it would be interesting to know how Loo understands today's discourses on the castle.

33 Sylvie Guichard-Anguis, "Patrimoine immatériel japonais, du défilé de char à la corbeille de bambou," *L'Information géographique* vol. 81, no. 2, 2017, pp. 55–74.

34 Jordan Sand, "Japan's Monument Problem: Ise Shrine as Metaphor," *Past and Present*, February 2015, pp. 126–152.

later came to see the practice of renewing and rebuilding as a unique feature of Japanese culture. Sand notes, “Since 1897, preservationists in Japan had made it a practice to completely dismantle state-designated architectural monuments, study the condition of wooden structural members, then reassemble them, usually restoring the building to its earliest documentable form. This practice of dismantling calls to mind the periodic renewal at Ise. . . . The 1897 law, however, altered the significance of the practice by making revival of the original historical form rather than simply maintenance its motive.”<sup>35</sup> Ise’s emergence in the global as well as Japanese imagination may reflect a longing for perpetual renewal based on deep ecology or a belief that a replica may be as “authentic” as the original. Regardless, as Sand suggests, it would seem by now a rejection of common sense to deny that heritage is a useful way to frame our understanding of Ise and other shrines as sites of cultural practices as much as they are architectural or historical sites.

As Guichard-Anguis points out, Japanese argued first for two main forms of cultural practice to be recognized as “intangible cultural heritage”: the performing arts and crafts. However, the concept of intangible cultural heritage seems even harder to pin down than that of tangible cultural heritage. Granted, crafts and, for that matter, rituals do have links to tangible heritage. And granted, oral traditions and performing arts can be specified. But what social practices passed among the generations are not part of our intangible cultural heritage? A case in point is cuisine. In a series of articles, Voltaire Cang discusses the paradoxes of UNESCO’s designation of (“traditional”) Japanese cuisine—*washoku*—as an intangible cultural heritage in 2013.<sup>36</sup> Food is certainly central to culture and identity, as anthropologists and many eaters have long known. Yet UNESCO and the countries vying for listing cannot answer the simple question “why not list all the world’s ever-changing cuisines?” The Japanese bid for *washoku*’s World Heritage status was largely modeled on the successful bids of the “Gastronomic Meal of the French,” the “Mediterranean Diet,” and “Traditional Mexican Cuisine.” We might also mention Turkish coffee and Croatian gingerbread, though these are more specific foods, not cuisines. In theory, UNESCO status does

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35 Sand, pp. 143–144.

36 Voltaire Cang, “Unmaking Japanese Food: Washoku and Intangible Heritage Designation,” *Food Studies* vol. 5, no. 3, 2015, pp. 49–58; “Japan’s Washoku as Intangible Heritage: The Role of National Food Traditions in UNESCO’s Cultural Heritage Scheme,” *International Journal of Cultural Property* vol. 25, no. 4, 2018, pp. 491–513; and “Policing *Washoku*: The Performance of Culinary Nationalism in Japan,” *Food and Foodways* vol. 27, no. 3, 2019, pp. 232–252.



not apply to just any French or Japanese meal. French food qualifies when it is celebratory and festive, uses local products, and follows the sequence from the aperitif through at least three courses before ending with cheese and dessert and liqueurs.<sup>37</sup> For *washoku*, too, UNESCO emphasizes its festival nature in addition to its techniques of drawing out the flavor of fresh ingredients and its “respect for nature.” Cang highlights the distinction between UNESCO’s goal of maintaining global diversity—an argument countries can make to UNESCO is that their cuisine is under threat—and Japan’s (and France’s) narrow and “standardized” views of cuisine. Within Japan, what of regional variations? What of popular dishes like Japanese curry—should this dish be deemed merely inauthentic Indian cuisine? Outside of Japan, what of cosmopolitan experiments? Should America claim the California roll as its particular heritage? Cang points to a dystopia of gastrodplomacy and sushi police—indeed, Japan created quasi-government organizations that could certify restaurants as *washoku* or not. But when did *washoku* become heritage? The term emerged in the early Meiji to distinguish Japanese food from Western cuisine (*yōshoku*). Was it actually under threat a century later? Does UNESCO listing do more than satisfy the appetites of culinary nationalists? Does it create a new threat, that of ossification, or does it ultimately make no difference?

Scholars frequently note the key role Japan played in convincing the global community that intangible cultural heritage was indeed a key, valid, or authentic form of heritage worth preservation. But they have neglected Japan’s ongoing use of heritage as soft power in its international diplomacy. Natsuko Akagawa’s *Heritage Conservation in Japan’s Cultural Diplomacy* elegantly remedies this neglect, discussing both the background of Japan’s prewar development of heritage and its postwar use of heritage in affecting a new global posture.<sup>38</sup> In addition to exercising soft power, Akagawa argues, Japan is also projecting its national identity by aiding heritage projects abroad. Her book concludes with a case study of Japan’s aid to Vietnamese heritage protection that began in the 1990s. The ancient city of Hue symbolized, for the Vietnamese government, the country’s postwar unification. However, the city’s historic precolonial buildings had to be restored after wartime destruction. By the 1990s, official history was being rewritten to legitimize the Nguyen dynasty, rather than

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37 I feel quite satiated now. See UNESCO, “Dossier de candidature n° 00437 pour l’inscription sur la liste représentative du patrimoine culturel immatériel en 2010,” <https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/07491-FR.pdf>.

38 Akagawa, *Heritage Conservation in Japan’s Cultural Diplomacy*.

writing its rulers off as reactionary collaborators. According to Akagawa, Japanese aid and expertise played an important role in reconstructing what became the Hue Monuments Complex, which received World Heritage listing in 1993. Waseda University scholars were chosen to work with Vietnamese and French researchers to determine what early nineteenth-century Hue would have looked like. In addition to such work on tangible heritage, Japanese scholars also participated in projects to recover Vietnamese court music and theater. In her study, however, Akagawa assumes, rather than explores, the relationship between Japanese aid and Vietnamese-Japanese relations.

In my reading, the fundamental value of Akagawa's study lies not in the case study or even her argument for the importance of heritage in Japan's soft power diplomacy. Her work rests on a broad scaffolding consisting of two main pillars: a theoretical discussion of heritage, nationalism, and identity and a thorough examination of official documents. Akagawa suggests that prewar Japanese national identity shifted from a mix of cultural, political, and military values (I would add racial values) to the postwar cultural and economic identity.<sup>39</sup> In some ways, this shift was a rejection of the past, but it was also a reconstruction of the past by rethinking its heritage. Akagawa points out that the term "cultural properties" (*bunkazai*) was used for the first time in the heritage laws enacted under the Occupation in 1950, specifically including intangible heritage such as performing arts and conservation techniques along with artifacts, monuments, historical sites, and the like. Occupation authorities removed putatively militaristic heritage items from official heritage lists. Meanwhile, "vernacular heritage," such as traditional farmhouses, became important to cultural identity as postwar rebuilding and economic growth led to the demolition of such historic structures as had survived the war. Akagawa recognizes but does not fully explore how the distinction between high and popular culture plays out in heritage politics, which perhaps mostly revolves around the economics of tourism. But behind questions of how to make money from elegant *netsuke* or humble farmhouses, I believe, lies an anxiety of loss.

Akagawa and others clearly show that Japan's role in the postwar international heritage regime was to help transform attitudes toward "authenticity." In my view, current scholarship correctly treats the concept as inherently ambiguous. In the case of ruins, standard heritage practice has held that any restoration work is to be clearly

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39 Ibid., p. 35.

marked. The Venice Charter of 1964 defined authenticity in four aspects: design, material, craft, and setting; it was clear even at the time that authenticity was, at best, a matter of degree. Akagawa points out that Japanese were not alone in saying that European standards of authenticity could not apply to the rest of the world. Further, the whole paradigm linking heritage to high culture rather than everyday life was breaking down. The Nara Document on Authenticity, approved in 1994, at least broadened the concept of conservation to include periodic dismantling and rebuilding. And in the long run, it “has influenced conservation philosophy by recognizing the significance of the different contexts of heritage” and doing away with set rules.<sup>40</sup>

Aurélié Élisa Gfeller points also to the international backing for change at the Nara Conference (which approved the Document on Authenticity) and to the larger rethinking in both Europe and the non-West of the concept of authenticity.<sup>41</sup> In the politicking leading up to the Nara Conference, Japan was joined by Canada and Norway, each also interested in the conservation of wood structures among other issues. Gfeller thus emphasizes the larger global and historical context leading to the fundamental rethinking of global heritage. The notion of authenticity as a global heritage norm had taken root by the mid-twentieth century, but the preservationist movement also increasingly acknowledged the authenticity of later accretions. That, for example, it was not necessary—and indeed wrong—to “restore” a twelfth-century cathedral to its original form: its additions of the fifteen and even the nineteenth centuries were inextricably part of its authentic nature. This approach to materiality at least implicitly acknowledged ongoing cultural traditions. The further recognition of non-Western conservation methods, not to mention new vernacular and industrial heritage, greatly broadened the concept of authenticity. The Nara Document on Authenticity that emerged out of these moves, Gfeller argues, attempted to combine universal standards of heritage but in a way that recognized different cultural approaches to questions of authenticity.<sup>42</sup> It would seem that *some* commitment to “authenticity” was to remain universal to heritage work, but that everyone (or every “culture”) could define for themselves what constituted authenticity.

The Nara approach both recognized and depended on a concept of intangible heritage, which was arguably most central to Japanese heritage practices. Even

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40 Ibid, p. 71.

41 Aurélié Élisa Gfeller, “The Authenticity of Heritage: Global Norm-Making at the Crossroads of Cultures,” *American Historical Review* vol. 122, no. 3, 2017, pp. 758–791.

42 Ibid., pp. 782–783.

tangible heritage can be judged as authentic on the basis of whether conservation techniques preserve its spirit—the very essence of intangible heritage. That is, living practice (intangible heritage) maintains tangible heritage such as shrines and temples or, for that matter, churches, but not necessarily by leaving them unchanged. Historic buildings and districts are also generally used in daily life and, unlike museumified structures (such as castles), may not be able to be preserved otherwise. For Akagawa, a key point was Japan's readiness to promote an "Asian" approach to conservation. As Japan became an economic powerhouse by the 1980s, it became the largest donor to UNESCO. It also devoted a considerable portion of its foreign aid to heritage projects, especially in the Asia-Pacific region—and promoted a *Japanese* view of heritage, which we can best see as an "expression of nationalism."<sup>43</sup> Of course, cultural diplomacy was only one aspect of Japan's foreign policy, which was primarily shaped by the alliance with the United States, but its independent soft power became increasingly important. Foreign aid for heritage projects was codified in law in 2006, which Akagawa argues has strengthened ties with other Asian countries. Projects have included conservation work on Angkor Wat, Borobudur, and Ayutthaya across Southeast Asia but also in China (Dunhuang) and North Korea. With Japanese support, UNESCO adopted the Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003, which, as Akagawa seems to suggest, both reflected and promoted a trend toward marking the "representative" rather than only the "outstanding" as heritage. Broad and ambiguous definitions have led to considerable wheeling and dealing at UNESCO meetings.

Another issue Akagawa raises is language. Do the Japanese terms best translated as "genuineness" or "reliability" adequately convey the notion of "authenticity" in Western languages?<sup>44</sup> There was, of course, little need to refer to "tangible cultural heritage" until the concept of "intangible cultural property" (*mukeni bunkazai* 無形

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43 Akagawa, *Heritage Conservation in Japan's Cultural Diplomacy*, p. 44. Akagawa also remarks, a little too strongly, on Japan's development assistance: "Japan's desire to be the leader of Asia and ultimately a leader in the global arena has not changed since the pre-World War II period" (p. 113).

44 Akagawa, *Heritage Conservation in Japan's Cultural Diplomacy*, citing Itō Nobuo, "'Authenticity' Inherent in Cultural Heritage in Asia and Japan," in K. E. Larsen, ed., *Nara Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention, Nara, Japan, November 1–6, 1994, Proceedings*, Paris: UNESCO World Heritage Centre, 1995, pp. 35–45. See also Natsuko Akagawa, "Rethinking the Global Heritage Discourse—Overcoming 'East' and 'West'?", *International Journal of Heritage Studies* vol. 22, no. 1, 2016, pp. 14–25.

文化財) or heritage came to the fore in the 1994 Nara Conference, which required fundamentally rethinking what authenticity could actually mean. Masahiro Ogino has attempted to work out the theoretical underpinnings of the centrality of intangible heritage to Japanese heritage practices, discussed by many of the authors cited above.<sup>45</sup> He regards as distinctive if not unique to Japan what he calls the “logic of actualization,” or how “the past is brought up to date in the present”—essentially, intangible heritage. In contrast to European heritage practice, Japanese practice relies less on monuments that firmly recall the past or museum artifacts that suggest a linear history. Rather, it relies more on, for example, “Living National Treasures,” or the ongoing production of heritage. Ogino’s point is that “practicing traditional art is not aimed at faithfully preserving the heritage of the past, but at bringing what is deemed to have existed in the past to the present.”<sup>46</sup> Traditions have no “fixed embodiment” but exist only as they are “actualized”—as in a theatrical performance, for example, but also in pottery, where the heritage value lies not in the clay vessel but in the process of its making. In other words, the past is actualized not in any object but in living people. Less convincingly, Ogino argues that even some objects or sites like Kyoto palaces and temples are actualized in this sense, which is to say divorced from everyday life but still used and so brought into the present. Ogino argues that the traditional Japanese conception of time was not linear and that this nonlinear view of time encouraged the blanket rejection of traditional things (such as castles, as we have seen) in the early Meiji rush of imported modernity. Then, when Japanese realized ancient things should be preserved for their historic value, though they still did not fit any linear scheme, actualization offered a way to bring them into the present.

Ogino discusses a second approach to heritage that he finds common in Japan and also in many late-modern societies, namely the desire to preserve the present (or very recent past). I am tempted to call this “heritage of the present.” Ogino cites the new category of “industrial heritage”; one can also think of museums devoted to the 1980s and even more recent periods. Ogino, however, goes on to trace what he calls a “doubling of the world” to the loss of traditional sacred centers, which causes people to seek “transitional places” such as shopping centers and tourist destinations that are

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45 Masahiro Ogino, “Considering Undercurrents in Japanese Cultural Heritage Management: The Logic of Actualisation and the Preservation of the Present,” in Akira Matsuda and Louisa Elena Mengoni, eds., *Reconsidering Cultural Heritage in East Asia*, London: Ubiquity Press, 2016, pp. 15–29.

46 Ibid., pp. 17–18.

visited briefly and at least partly as an escape from everyday life. People are able to go back and forth between such sites and their everyday lives, resulting in a sense of actually living in two separate worlds, thus creating a doubling effect.<sup>47</sup> In an example that would apply globally, residents who live in registered historic housing live in these two worlds all the time. One is tempted to push this argument, however, in directions further than Ogino seems to go. Do not all people conscious of the past live in a doubled world? Is not all heritage, like all history, inherently part of the present, which is thereby doubled?

## Postwar and Local Heritage

In addition to the monographs cited above, scholars have produced seemingly hundreds of articles examining specific cases of heritage work in modern Japan. I have not attempted a systematic exploration of these studies from the frontiers of anthropology, geography, history, economics, tourism, and other fields. Rather, I discuss below selected examples of such recent work. However, I must begin by noting a lacuna in this review essay, though one that also reflects the use of the framework of heritage in modern Japanese studies. That is, the large literature on Shinto and shrines seldom directly raises heritage issues. Shinto scholars certainly touch on related issues—symbolic narrative, identity, memory, power, and contestation as well as preservation, maintenance, funding, public access, and so forth—but they seldom discuss these issues in terms of “heritage.” One reason for this may be the Shinto establishment’s resolute rejection of any official heritage status and perhaps the very idea of heritage. An idea, put baldly, may be that if Shinto represents constant renewal, then it is new, and then it cannot represent heritage (old). Further, the custodians of particular shrines fear any outside influence. According to Jordan Sand, Ise priests not only regard the shrine as the emperor’s gift to his people but proclaim that the shrine is the emperor’s property.<sup>48</sup>

No doubt, visiting a shrine can be a religious experience, a touristy pleasure, a pleasant outing, or a heritage experience, or all of the above at once. But while shrines are never *merely* heritage, many visitors likely see them through the lens of heritage.

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47 Ibid., pp. 24–25.

48 Sand, “Japan’s Monument Problem,” p. 151. The fear that heritage status represents a kind of living death is widespread outside of Japan as well and may not be unique to the Shinto establishment.

That said, there seems to be little scholarly literature specifically using that lens to discuss shrines (as opposed to the more extensive heritage studies of castles, for example). One exception is Jordan Sand's article on Ise cited above. Sand finds in Ise a "versatile metaphor in discourses of Japanese culture, of Asian culture, and of heritage and architectural monumentality." In addition to raising imponderable questions of what counts as authentic, Sand points to various uses of Ise as a symbol of some essential Japanese qualities of character or worldview, such as frugality and simplicity or the ephemeral nature of reality. Overall, Japanese themselves have emphasized the shrine's antiquity, though an ever-fresh antiquity representative of the *kokutai*. In the postwar period, according to Sand, Ise came more to represent the idea of newness within tradition. It is but a step to conclude that heritage is found in practice rather than materiality. At any rate, as Akagawa discusses, Ise was a critical case in Japan's arguments for UNESCO to acknowledge intangible cultural heritage.

Takashi Inada argues that postwar Japan's heritage policies have increasingly taken local populations into account.<sup>49</sup> Inada contrasts the prewar period, with its emphasis on the "sacred traces of the Meiji emperor" (*Meiji tennō seiseki*), to the 1950 Cultural Property Protection Law (Bunkazai Hogo Hō), which included the heritage of localities and popular culture. On the one hand, the new legal regime, still in effect today, cited "living heritage" and "regional cultural property"; but on the other hand, the legal status of buried material, which as we have seen was off limits as imperial property in the prewar period, remains ambiguous. Inada also emphasizes the decentralization of heritagization processes. As the categories eligible for protection expanded—tangible cultural property, intangible cultural heritage, heritage sites, monuments, and landscapes, as well as folk cultural property, folk documents, traditional building complexes, and cultural landscapes—so did local populations' role in decision-making. Heritage is no longer limited to rare examples of high culture but is ever more widespread. But it is also, Inada reminds us, threatened by development.

If heritagization today is often linked with local identity claims, more and more heritage sites are being built out of modern experiences, as Ogino has noted. One set of modern experiences stems from the enormous changes that followed Meiji-era rapid industrialization. Should old factory complexes and mines be preserved?

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49 Takashi Inada (trans. by Laurent Nespoulous), "L'évolution de la protection du patrimoine au Japon depuis 1950: sa place dans la construction des identités régionales," *Ebisu—Études japonaises* no. 52, September 2015, pp. 21–46.

Toshiyuki Morishima has pointed out that efforts to do so since the 1970s have resulted in success when various interests are balanced: heritage protection, tourism, and urban planning.<sup>50</sup> Key to such projects is cooperation between the Ministry of Economy and Industry and the Agency for Cultural Affairs. Morishima has created a database of their various projects that shows a certain imbalance or bias toward mining, textile, and military installations at the expense, for example, of transportation heritage. Nonetheless, buildings and sites as well as machines and even archives have been preserved through government efforts related to UNESCO standards for industrial heritage.

In the case of the Miike Coal Mine heritage site in Fukuoka and Kumamoto, Yusuke Matsuura has pointed to two distinct narratives: a more or less official story that accentuates the positive and a dissenting narrative that demands this heritage acknowledge the contributions of Korean forced labor and the sufferings of Japanese workers.<sup>51</sup> Given the need to incorporate Miike into Japan's application for World Heritage status for "Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution," South Korea was able to insist on acknowledgment of Korean forced labor at the mines. Matsuura also highlights the "public vernacular memory" of "negative heritage" (*fu no isan*) held by many ex-miners. The mines suffered a slow decline before finally closing in 1997, and memories of labor disputes and pit explosions remained fresh. At least locally, World Heritage status remained controversial. While the mine sites tell largely the official story, memorial markers and memorial services keep alive a darker story.

Edward Boyle widens the lens to examine the general background of UNESCO's 2015 addition of twenty-three locations to "Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution: Iron and Steel, Shipbuilding and Coal Mining."<sup>52</sup> Treating heritage as inherently contested by memory collectives, Boyle points to the tense negotiations between Japan, on the one side, and South Korea and China, on the other. At stake in the negotiations was a story of successful Westernization and "Asian cultural response" versus a story of imperialism and exploitative industrialization.

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50 Toshiyuki Morishima, "Une comparaison des politiques de conservation et de mise en valeur du patrimoine industriel de la modernisation au Japon," *Entreprises et Histoire* no. 87, June 2017, pp. 51–68.

51 Yusuke Matsuura, "World Heritage and the Local Politics of Memory: The Miike Coal Mine and *fu no isan*," *Japan Forum* vol. 31, no. 3, 2019, pp. 313–335.

52 Edward Boyle, "Borders of Memory: Affirmation and Contestation over Japan's Heritage," *Japan Forum* vol. 31, no. 3, 2019, pp. 293–312.



Temporality mattered as well: if the story of industrialization ends before 1910, then Japan's colonization of Korea is left out. Following Matsuura, Boyle notes the existence of voices outside these state-directed narratives but emphasizes that national stories tended to dominate—other stories are marginalized or even forgotten.

Equally ambiguous in its memory-work is “defense heritage,” including both the structures of modern Japan's industrialization and state-building and the premodern castles discussed above. Old daimyo castles have become surrounded by an aura of romance and adventure, but modern military bases have been neglected, either out of antiwar sentiment or from their association with failure better forgotten.<sup>53</sup> Masaaki Okada has pointed to the growing reuse of defense sites since the beginning of the twenty-first century. Some have been turned into parks; old aircraft shelters have been used as warehouses. But it is not clear if this process is actually one of heritagization or forgetting. Having said that, we should note that Jung-Sun Han has pointed to genuine popular interest in war-related sites. While the government may wish to ignore them, local communities and civil society organizations have sometimes found ways to preserve underground factories, bunkers, shelters, and the like.<sup>54</sup> According to Han, while some of these heritagization projects highlight the Japan-as-victim narrative, they are recognized as “heritage of bad things” and leave room for counter-narratives and critical views of Japan. Underground factories, for example, may note the presence of enslaved Korean laborers. Highlighting local interest in “dark heritage,” Han also points to the generational shift underway by the 1990s, although he does not explicitly argue that, compared with those of the war generation, the newer generations' memories and views may be less sensitive—or perhaps less defensive or less ideological (or ideological in a different way).

Industrialization everywhere has had its dark side, but “dark heritage” may refer to heritage that is exclusively or primarily associated with death or disaster. Dark heritage should be distinguished from the notion of “dark tourism” from which it is derived, though neither can be defined precisely. Dark tourism—visits to prison sites, Holocaust sites, Chernobyl, Fukushima, and so on—may be associated with formal memorials but is often criticized for trivializing tragedy and providing voyeuristic

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53 Okada Masaaki, “Interpretation of Defence Heritage in Japan: A Survey of its ‘Neglect and Reuse’ and Future Potential as Significant Landscape,” *Icon: Journal of the International Committee for the History of Technology* vol. 17, 2011, pp. 94–106.

54 Jung-Sun Han, “Relics of Empire Underground: The Making of Dark Heritage in Contemporary Japan,” *Asian Studies Review* vol. 40, no. 2, 2016, pp. 287–302.

thrills.<sup>55</sup> Dark heritage, it seems to me, is more of a convenient label than a precise classification. And it is still subject to contestation, as Atsuko Hashimoto and David Telfer point out in their discussion of Okinawa Peace Park.<sup>56</sup> The park's meanings are mediated not only by the museum displays but also by the "storytellers" (*kataribe*), who are survivors of the Pacific War and offer guided tours and explanations of the exhibits. Not all visitors want to hear their "anti-Japanese" sentiments, Hashimoto and Telfer note, while the park itself confounds mainland Japanese expectations of war memorials. The bones of the enormous number of Okinawa civilians who died in 1945 are laid next to those of Japanese soldiers. The memory of the war is neither one of Japanese glory nor one of Japanese victimization (as in Hiroshima and Nagasaki), or at least not exclusively so. Yet at least one set of lessons revolves around Japanese sins: the failure to protect Okinawans from the US invasion, drafting Okinawans for the war, turning the islands into US bases, and perhaps its original nineteenth-century "colonization" of the islands. Above all, the slaughter of the Battle of Okinawa is laid at the feet of the Japanese, not the US invaders. However, Hashimoto and Telfer ask what meanings Okinawa Peace Park will convey as the older *kataribe* are replaced by younger generation who did not experience the war personally.

Examples of what might be considered gray heritage, if not exactly dark heritage, are commemorations that put a happy face on inherently unhappy events. One such event—taking place over years—was the repatriation of Japanese from Manchuria, Korea, and Siberia after the Pacific War. In 2015 UNESCO put a selection of documents at the Maizuru Repatriation Memorial Museum into its Memory of the World International Register.<sup>57</sup> This gave the repatriation documents the same status as the Bayeux Tapestry, Beethoven's Ninth Symphony, and Anne Frank's diary. Jonathan Bull and Steven Ivings argue that, in effect, UNESCO ratified an orthodox account of the state bringing people safely back to their homeland. The museum long neglected the actual memories of repatriated Japanese who faced difficulties gaining

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55 Will Coldwell, "Dark Tourism: Why Murder Sites and Disaster Zones are Proving Popular," *Guardian*, October 31, 2013.

56 Atsuko Hashimoto and David J. Telfer, "Contested Geopolitical Messages for Tourists at the Okinawa Peace Park and Memorials," *Japan Forum* vol. 31, no. 3, 2019, pp. 378–407.

57 Jonathan Bull and Steven Ivings, "Return on Display: Memories of Postcolonial Migration at Maizuru," *Japan Forum* vol. 31, no. 3, 2019, pp. 336–357. The documents feature diaries and notebooks of Japanese interned in Siberia from 1945 into the 1950s, as well as contemporary Japanese expressions of concern for the internees.

acceptance back into Japanese society, not to mention their war memories and the memories of people who repatriated themselves without the state's help. It also neglected the Maizuru port's role in sending Chinese and Koreans away from Japan, back to their home countries at the end of the war. By the twenty-first century, the museum was looking for ways to tell stories to audiences that had not experienced the war, and it broadened its focus. Its UNESCO application emphasized "universal themes" such as "the human determination to survive." One point was that just as some Japanese had to be repatriated from Soviet POW camps, so, too, did German and Hungarian soldiers face repatriation at the end of the war. This argument could lessen any sense of Japanese as having uniquely suffered. Nonetheless, Bull and Iving's conclude that the museum still does little to present anything close to the full range of voices that would speak to what happened in Maizuru Port.

Ainu human remains is another painful issue subject to heritagization.<sup>58</sup> Naohiro Nakamura discusses some of the controversies surrounding the government's plan to build a memorial hall in Hokkaido to house unidentified Ainu remains that had been stored mostly in universities. Anthropologists' seizure or theft of first nations' human remains has of course been controversial in many countries, and the question of whether and how to return them continues to embroil scientific and first nation communities today. Nakamura shows that, in Japan's case, the government became involved after Ainu sued Hokkaido University for the remains to be returned. Ainu themselves are hardly unanimous about the correct course to follow, but there is considerable opposition to the government's plan for a single memorial hall. While it is impossible to trace most remains to individual descendants, many could be returned to the burial grounds from which they were originally excavated. Ainu communities could then ensure academics could no longer conduct research on the remains. As Nakamura describes this story, the issues are not finally settled, and litigation continues. Memorial services could also be held for remains that are returned to burial grounds, in which case such "heritagization" would presumably be relatively private and low-key. This would not preclude the building of a memorial hall, which would require decisions about who would tell what story about the remains.

The case studies mentioned above clearly involve questions of local identity—but perhaps all heritagization does—but local identity is not their main focus. One issue

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58 Naohiro Nakamura, "Redressing Injustice of the Past: The Repatriation of Ainu Human Remains," *Japan Forum* vol. 31, no. 3, 2019, pp. 358–377.

that reoccurs frequently is how official state narratives neglect local views. An example is the Miike mines, which are sites of glorious industrialization and economic development, or of enslavement and suffering. The local war-related “dark heritage” discussed by Jung-Sun Han are other examples. More prosaically, heritagization may support local pride but comes with costs. As Japan’s rural areas are hollowed out, many communities seek to bring in tourist yen. Ōgimachi’s traditional *gasshō*-style farmhouses received World Heritage status in 1995. Takamitsu Jimura has described how the community has attempted to deal with problems stemming from the particular type of tourism that resulted.<sup>59</sup> Tourists certainly come; but especially since highway improvements in 2008, they often spend just a few hours at the site and move on, rather than patronizing local home-hostels and restaurants. Jimura’s survey of residents found that many considered their privacy invaded (tourists did not always know what was open to the public and what was not). They also felt the community suffered from traffic congestion and that their community spirit had been weakened. Young people still leave to find jobs in the city. Nonetheless, Jimura urges that a tourism management plan could help; greater provisions for in-depth understanding of the village’s history and architecture, for example, would appeal to some tourists and encourage longer stays.

The decision to seek World Heritage status must come from a national government, but the impetus might come from local leaders. Or not. Based on his fieldwork on an island in Kagoshima Prefecture, Michael Dylan Foster notes that island leaders worked to get national recognition for a village ritual as early as the 1970s, but only three decades later did the national government push for UNESCO recognition.<sup>60</sup> The ritual—Toshidon—involves adult males wearing masks traveling from house to house scaring children (with family approval, to encourage good behavior) around New Year’s. Like other parts of rural Japan, Shimo-Koshikijima has long been suffering from job loss and population loss—especially of families with children, without whom Toshidon would make no sense. Toshidon was listed as “intangible cultural heritage” in 2009. Increased tourism and even TV coverage of the rituals, allowed in some neighborhoods but not others, followed. According to Foster, villagers enjoy the

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59 Takamitsu Jimura, “The Impact of World Heritage Site Designation on Local Communities—A Case Study of Ogimachi, Shirakawa-mura, Japan,” *Tourism Management* vol. 32, no. 2, 2011, pp. 288–296.

60 Michael Dylan Foster, “Imagined UNESCOs: Interpreting Intangible Cultural Heritage on a Japanese Island,” *Journal of Folklore* vol. 52, nos. 2–3, 2015, pp. 217–232.

recognition, though they disagree over how open the ritual should be to outside observers (after all, it takes place in people's homes) and whether their presence changes the nature of the ritual. Do children begin performing for the camera? Does UNESCO status itself change the very nature of the ritual? Yet without UNESCO status, would the ritual survive? Foster does not answer these questions. He is interested primarily in how "UNESCO" (Yunesuko) is a floating signifier: for some, it means global standing and local pride; for others, it means tourism and income; and for yet others, it means a responsibility—even a burden—to maintain a ritual that is potentially losing its meaning.

Competing claims also rest on competing interpretations. For example, the sacred grove Sēfa Utaki on Okinawa (World Heritage as of 2000) is subject to a proliferation of Okinawan pilgrims, spirit mediums, mainland Japanese tourists, foreign tourists, tour guides, and shop owners. Aike P. Rots highlights the conflicts between these groups. The grove's competing uses are under the control of both local authorities and the state because Sēfa Utaki is not attached to an independent religious institution; its uses and management are also subject to a great deal of negotiation and also buck passing (who pays for upkeep?).<sup>61</sup> Rots emphasizes that the site was radically changed by World Heritage status, but his fundamental point is the sheer multiplicity of voices and strategies surrounding the site. The history of the "sacred place," previously a key worship site of the Ryūkyū Kingdom and long used by local spirit mediums, suggests that *all* claims to it today are based on essentialized and reductive interpretations. In other words, it is true heritage—claimed and contested by diverse groups. Some native Okinawans, understanding themselves as participating in traditional rituals, regard the site as sacred but sense that mass tourism is weakening its sacred qualities. Some tourists, by contrast, understand it to be a "power spot" whose spiritual functions can be drawn on in new ways. Rots seems to regard the core issue as one of Okinawan self-determination, but that does not answer the question of authority, for it neglects the competing claims among Okinawans themselves.

The question of local authority—and authenticity—as opposed to that of the central state is certainly not limited to Okinawa. The town of Hiraizumi in Iwate Prefecture has been taken as the exemplar of Tōhoku culture. In his study of the historian Takahashi Tomio's treatment of Hiraizumi, Nathan Hopson is concerned

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61 Aike P. Rots, "'This Is Not a Powerspot': Heritage Tourism, Sacred Space, and Conflicts of Authority at Sēfa Utaki," *Asian Ethnology* vol. 78, no. 1, 2019, pp. 155–180.

primarily with historiographical issues, but also pays attention to heritage.<sup>62</sup> It was, he argues, the archaeological and historical evidence of Hiraizumi's role in the world trading system that prompted the government to seek World Heritage status for it. That is, he takes Hiraizumi not as a marginal region of Japan but as a site of international significance and thus suitable for UNESCO recognition. (World Heritage status was finalized in 2011 in the wake of the Tōhoku earthquake and tsunami.) Hopson suggests that Hiraizumi in the immediate postwar period also had the advantage of helping to refute the discredited prewar ideology of the homogenous nature of the Japanese "race" and polity. If Hiraizumi is understood as a "culturally hybrid" regional power that resisted full incorporation into the Japanese state, it may foster more pluralistic understandings of Japanese culture. Without going into complex historiographical issues, we can note that it was at least plausible to see Hiraizumi as both Japanese and a victim of Japanese expansion, as both culturally autonomous and as an integral part of Japan; in a word, as a hybrid. Now recognized as World Heritage of significance to all humankind, Hiraizumi remains, in Hopson's words, "a fixture in discourses of Japanese national identity" while, indeed, its new status—cemented in history—deradicalizes its revolutionary potential.<sup>63</sup>

In the case of Kyoto, very little heritage can be called uniquely local. Nearly everywhere are examples of ancient or allegedly ancient arts, temples, shrines, and palaces that are all associated one way or another with the imperial house. Kyoto's long centuries as the imperial capital virtually defined the entire region's status in the wake of the Meiji Restoration, as we have seen. Even its supposedly unique features—the Gion's geisha culture or Kyoto kaiseki—have become metonyms for Japan. At the same time, Kyoto's heritage also includes the modern, particularly commemoration of the Meiji Restoration itself. Visitors to sites connected with samurai martyrs of the 1860s seek an entirely different kind of experience than visitors to Kinkaku-ji.<sup>64</sup> The experience of visiting Restoration sites may still be nostalgic, but it can, Jennifer Prough argues, also reflect an attempt to relate "traditional" values of perseverance and duty to "modern" ones of youth and openness.

Still, what we might call the local persists in the national. However much

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62 Nathan Hopson, "Takahashi Tomio's Phoenix: Recuperating Hiraizumi, 1950–71," *The Journal of Japanese Studies* vol. 40, no. 2, 2014, pp. 353–377.

63 Ibid., p. 377.

64 Jennifer Prough, "Meiji Restoration Vacation: Heritage Tourism in Contemporary Kyoto," *Japan Forum* vol. 30, no. 4, 2018, pp. 564–588.

heritage work in Tokyo and Kyoto is devoted to building memories that foster identification with the nation, it also speaks to what it means to be from a particular place. If it seems obvious that Tōhoku or Okinawa would, in some ways and to some degree, define themselves vis-à-vis the Japanese state, this can be true even of Tokyo. Jordan Sand's discussion of the Edo-Tokyo Museum, finished in 1993, highlights its emphasis on everyday life.<sup>65</sup> The museum is part of the general movement away from the heritage of high culture, as described above, to objects—and even reconstructed scenes—that ordinary people could feel represent their own ancestors' lives, or even their own childhood. Thus, the museum includes the interiors of imagined farmhouses and models of a postwar Tokyo apartment, complete with electrical appliances. (Not included are the factories that made those appliances or the pollution that resulted: nostalgia is part of the message). Sand notes, "Privileging the home as the site of everyday life elided other sites of community and spaces of commonality, and made possible the reinscription in objects or ideological bonds between the individual and the state."<sup>66</sup> Yet the Edo-Tokyo Museum was planned not by the state's culture bureaucrats but by amateur historians and academics supported by the city government. Indeed, there is a certain celebration of Tokugawa Edo, implying if not a rejection of the Meiji, at least the claim that not all was made new and good in 1868. The museum's story of "Tokyo" goes on to offer, at least in my view, a twinned experience—of increasing commodification and of certain kinds of losses. Sand points to the danger (well understood by the museum's own leaders) that presentation of everyday life may overwhelm us with nostalgia for imagined pasts, whether recent or ancient. He highlights the tensions involved in the desire to escape the national narrative of heroic modernization, on the one hand, and romanticizing the local and everyday on the other. Many involved in the museum planning did not want to present a single authoritative narrative, but museums are by nature authoritative. Sand convincingly concludes that heritage today is fragmenting and, in a sense, gives more power to audiences in finding meaning; and yet, he notes, the role of the state in heritagization has hardly disappeared.

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65 Jordan Sand, *Tokyo Vernacular: Common Spaces, Local Histories, Found Objects*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013, chap. 4.

66 Ibid., p. 115.

The concept of “heritage” is so capacious as to seem analytically useless. Almost everything—perhaps indeed everything—can be regarded as heritage. Into the twentieth century, the term most obviously referred to cultural artifacts, especially buildings, monuments, and art deemed worthy of preserving for future generations. Referring originally to the property bequeathed between the generations in wealthy families, “heritage” had acquired by the late nineteenth century its current sense applying to the inheritance of larger groups, especially nations. Heritage in this sense is integral to modern concepts of identity and represents the “best of the past,” what we choose to remember with pride. Heritage is thus always “*our* heritage”—it defines, reflects, supports, and sometimes contests a group consciousness, whether the group is the nation, a tribe, a class, an ethnic group, or perhaps humanity as a whole. Tangible and intangible objects and practices can formally be declared “heritage” by a government or UNESCO, or they may simply be understood as heritage by someone or another.<sup>67</sup>

The scope of the concept of heritage exploded in the second half of the twentieth century to include “natural heritage”—landscapes of particular beauty or historical memory—and especially “intangible heritage.” In this shift, there has been what might be reductively expressed as a move from the derivation of identity based on the intrinsic cultural or aesthetic value of heritage objects to the derivation of heritage based on identities defined as those groups that transmit “traditions, skills, and customs” (their heritage) over the generations.<sup>68</sup> Heritage, like identity, is always plural and also processual (heritagization). Though the studies discussed here focus on *Japan’s* heritage, scholars discuss how it is contested, or at least subject to different interpretations, and how proper understanding of it requires a global framework. Heritage is complex because it is built on unstable mixtures of official ideology, popular nostalgia, the commercial media interests, the actions of national and local authorities, and international summits. In turn, heritage produces not only identity but also power. By no means should our use of the term be limited to sites and practices approved by UNESCO, or even those recognized by national or local governments.

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67 This paragraph is broadly based on a portion of the voluminous literature reflecting on heritage; I am generally indebted to the work of G. J. Ashworth, Brian Graham, J. E. Tunbridge, Tim Winter, Rodney Harrison, Laurajane Smith, David Harvey, and above all David Lowenthal.

68 One might add: and marketed as such. See John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnicity, Inc.*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009, esp. chap. 2.



As UNESCO's lists grow and grow and as every possible group seeks out its own heritage, heritage seems to be expanding and devouring all before it. And yet heritage also shrinks and even disappears. Heritage scholarship often counterposes heritage to history: the one popular and often made up, the other at least striving for objectivity and evidence. We can be skeptical of any such binary opposition, but heritage is *relatively* more attuned to immediate cultural flows and hegemonic social structures, as we have seen in the rise and fall of castles as symbols of masculine militarism in twentieth-century Japan. The Western-language (primarily English) heritage scholarship on Japan demonstrates the intimate links of heritage with Japanese history.

## 日本遺産の西洋言語研究

ピーター・ザロー\*

過去数十年の間、世界の遺産は劇的に増加し、遺産に関する研究も増加している。日本の遺産に関する西洋の研究は、アイデンティティ、権力、国家、および観光の問題に焦点を当ててきたが、これらの問題は、「遺産化」のトランスナショナルな性格を踏まえて理解する必要がある。本稿は、主に英語を中心とした西洋言語の研究に基づいて、日本の遺産に関する近年の研究について考察する。博物館や城を対象とする研究が多い一方で、「無形遺産」や「負の遺産」も重要である。遺産研究は首尾一貫した研究分野ではないが、人類学、歴史、地理、美術史、文学研究などの学問分野の知見をもとに文化的表象の背後にあるものを検討し、権力関係を明るみに出す。

キーワード：遺産研究、公共の記憶、観光、アイデンティティ、日本史

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